

SOME ASPECTS
OF
RELIGION AND POLITICS IN INDIA
DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

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By the same Author:

1. Political Letters of Shah Waliullah of Delhi.
2. *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht.*
3. *Hayat-i-Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dihlavi.*
4. Supplement to Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. II.
5. Studies in Medieval Indian History.
6. The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar.
7. *Salatin-i-Delhi Kay Mazhabi Rujhanat.*
8. Red Fort Diary of 1857.
9. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, Critical Edition.

To
Dr. Zakir Husain
As a token of
Respect for the *man*
&
Admiration for the *educationist*.


FOREWORD

The most important of recent trends in the writing of Indian history is the ever-increasing output by Indians. This is a natural, healthy, commendable tendency, the inevitable result of emancipation from foreign rule and of a desire to draw attention to their ancient heritage. Unfortunately the British public is not familiar with the results of historical research by Indian scholars, many of whose "finds" have been printed in comparatively obscure Indian Journals. In the past, English and European scholars have sometimes, so far as ancient and medieval India is concerned, been given more credit than was their due because they developed ideas first adumbrated in some little known Indian journal, or, because the Indian historian wrote his monograph in Urdu, Hindi or Bengali. I am glad therefore that Mr. Nizami has done me the honour of asking me to write a foreword to his book as this gives me an opportunity of drawing attention to his publications which form a solid contribution to the history of the Sultanate of Delhi, a period of vital importance in India's long history.

In this important book Mr. Nizami first deals with the political expansion and ideological integration of Islam down to the Ghurid conquest of northern India. The second part of the book discusses the establishment of Muslim power and the nature of Muslim rule in northern India during the thirteenth century. Mr. Nizami fully realizes the impossibility of writing the history of India before the intrusion of the European nations by sea without a detailed examination of what was happening in the Central Asian background. In assessing the reasons for the rapid expansion of Islam in this century due attention is paid to the work of Muslim missionaries, a factor usually neglected by historians. A close study of the strategy and tactics of the Muslim invaders also shows how speed, mobility and shock tactics have played an important part in Muslim military history from the swiftly moving forces of Chengiz Khan to Shaibani Khan's adoption of the *tulghma* and Babur's victory at Panipat. Mr. Nizami's purpose has been to reveal the personality of Iltutmish and Balban rather than to provide the reader with a rehash of the facts unearthed by previous writers. Other topics discussed are the position of the '*ulama* in thirteenth century India; the part played by Muslim mystics,

especially the Chishti and Suhrawardi orders; the status and treatment of Hindus; and the foreign policy of the Delhi Sultanate. The chapters dealing with Muslim religious life and thought break fresh ground. The whole book is based on a careful examination of contemporary sources, both in manuscript and in print. This well-documented study should find a place on the bookshelves of every Islamic scholar and student of Muslim rule in India.

Balliol College,
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INTRODUCTION

My colleague, Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, has after years of study produced the best work we have on all aspects (including the political) of Indo-Muslim life in India during the thirteenth century. All Persian printed works have been utilised for the purpose as well as all manuscripts that have yet been discovered. His attitude is critical and scientific, and he has avoided both polemics and propaganda.

I

The Muslim settlement in India is very often misrepresented as a military venture—an act of force. It is true that Shihab-u'd-din Ghorî won the second battle of Tarain in 1192 and that within fourteen years his general, Bakhtiyar Khalji, had reached the bank of the Brahmaputra. This rapid conquest of northern India—even if it be partial and of the main cities only—established a centralised political structure that was destined to stay; and on the face of it the military achievement seems great. But there is another side of the picture which cannot be ignored. Judged by Central Asian standards the Turkish leaders of the day were woefully behind the times in strategy and courage as well as the enforcement of discipline among their soldiers. In 1205 Sultan Shihab-u'd-din was signally defeated by the non-Muslim Qara-Khitai Turks at the battle of Andkhud; his officers and soldiers deserted him and he fled for refuge to the fort with about a hundred men. In 1218 Chengiz Khan, the greatest killer in world-history (if we exclude the statesmen responsible for the last two world wars), started his famous march for the conquest of Muslim Asia and within forty years the Mongols had brought all lands till the frontiers of Poland and Syria under their sway and had conquered India up to Lahore. To ensure the permanence of their power, the Mongol conquerors massacred the population of the more important cities. “Where there had been a hundred thousand people,” ‘Ala-u'd-din Ata Malik Juwaini, the Secretary of Halaku Khan writes, “there remained without exaggeration not a hundred souls alive”.¹ The inhabitants of the great centres of Muslim civilization—Samarqand, Bokhara, Tirmiz, Khwarazm, Naishapur, Merv and others which I have not space to enumerate—were so carefully slaughtered that only a few beggars were left. At Merv every Mongol soldier was ordered to execute three to four

1. *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, Vol. II, p. 17

hundred men and women, and one Maulana 'Imad-u'd-din, who had managed to escape with a few friends, finding himself unable to bury the corpses, spent thirteen days and nights in counting them; they were one million and three hundred thousand in numbers. In the flourishing and historic city of Naishapur every living creature was killed, including cats and dogs, and no one was left to count the dead. In the city of Herat, according to the *Tarikh-i-Herat*, only the Khatib Maulana Sharf-u'd-din and fifteen other persons (whom it names) escaped the massacre, but after the Mongols had withdrawn, they were joined by fifteen men who had escaped the massacre in the suburbs. "For fifteen years there was no one in the city of Herat except these forty men, they lived in the mausoleum of Malik Ghiyas-u'd-din". The number of men and women massacred is given as one million and six hundred thousand for Herat and the surrounding towns.¹ When Chengiz Khan marched from Samarqand to the bank of the Indus, no one along the route of his march was allowed to survive.

Even according to the most modest estimate, the Mongols during this period (1228-1260) must have killed at least eight million Muslim men and women in cold blood for the establishment of their political authority. The return of prosperity was not easy. Juwaini, writing in 1259-60, says that the districts of Mawaraun Nahr, which had been subjected to plunder only once, had in some cases attained to their pre-Mongol prosperity or closely approached it. "It is otherwise with Khorasan and 'Iraq, which countries are afflicted with a hectic fever and a chronic ague. Every town and every village has been several times subjected to pillage and massacre and has suffered confusion for years, so that even though there be generation and increase until the Resurrection, the population will not attain to a tenth of what it was before. The history thereof may be ascertained from the record of ruins and midden-heaps declaring how fate has painted here deeds upon palace walls".² Hamdullah, the *Mustaufi* (Auditor-General) of Iran, writing about a century after Chengiz's invasion declares in his *Nuzhatul Qulub* that the country had not attained to even a third of its pre-Mongol prosperity. Nevertheless by the year 1300 A.D. almost all the Mongols in Muslim lands had been converted to the Muslim faith. Apart from the destruction wrought, the sole result of Chengiz's work was to replace one Turkish governing class by another. Outer Mongolia is the only country where the Mongols now survive. It may be said with confidence that no Musalman bears them any ill-will. Past wrongs, however great, must be forgotten. That is a pre-condition of world prosperity and peace.

1. *Rauzat-u's-Safa*, Vol. V, p. 38-39.

2. *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, Vol. I, p. 15, Boyle's translation.

I have referred to the Mongol conquest of Muslim Asia and south-western Europe because it is the basic fact of world history in the thirteenth century and deeply influenced the fortunes of all Asian states and of the Empire of Delhi. The Mongols took good care to prevent the inhabitants of the cities which they had determined to slaughter from escaping their doom. Still according to the best authority available, the *Yuan-Chao-Pi-Shi* (*Secret History of the Mongol Dynasty*), the army of Chengiz Khan did not exceed 90,000 as against the Khwarazmian army of 4 to 5 lacs. It was impossible for the conquerors to seal up the whole of Central Asia. India was the only country where the refugees could find both security and livelihood. A large number of refugees, who belonged to distinguished families and were capable of taking part in the administration, got employment under Iltutmish but were later on liquidated by the *Forty*. The names of a few scholars, who migrated, have been recorded. We have also references to ordinary Musalmans—men of no account either in their own country or here—but their advent made no difference to the political and military structure of the country.

II

Mr. Nizami has prefaced his work by an excellent analysis of the Islamic Revolution and its consequences, till the thirteenth century. It is impossible for me to add to what he says, but perhaps the following reflections will enable the reader to co-ordinate the Islamic Revolution with the general trend of world history.

(a) All Revolutions, whether claiming to be religious or secular, attempt to resolve conflicts, contradictions or discriminations. But if the Revolution succeeds in resolving these conflicts at a lower level, they reappear at a higher level and often in a more acute form. The distinctive character of Islam as a religion is its uncompromising monotheism, and the application of this principle to social life, as Mr. Nizami makes clear, meant the elimination of discrimination to the utmost extent possible under the circumstances. The Prophet was not an Arab nationalist, but in the ten years during which he was in charge of the government of Medina he eliminated all Arab *tribal conflicts* and organised a fairly egalitarian and classless society. But after various non-Arab peoples had been brought within the fold of Islam, *national conflicts* appeared and there was no Prophet or even a statesman of the calibre of the second Caliph to resolve these conflicts. As a result the unified Caliphate broke up into national and semi-national groups, which are still with us. The Shuabia Movement declares all Musalmans to be equal but it has not been in practice possible to enforce this principle in the

sphere of politics and economics, though all Musalmans admit it in the sphere of religious rites.

(b) The Muslim *Shari'at* in the earlier centuries was the best civil law available; under happier circumstances it could have helped in the establishment of a proper social order for the whole world. But it was, unfortunately, afflicted by two misfortunes which led to an inner paralysis. First, the attempt was made to follow mechanistically the injunctions of the Quran and the precepts of the Prophet, while the objectives—the end, aim or purpose—of these injunctions was completely ignored. To take one example only. The Prophet did not ask for *taxes* but *alms* for purposes defined in the Quran—the help of the orphan, the wayfarer, persons out of employment (*miskin*), persons incapable of earning their livelihood (*fuqara*), persons with too much self-respect to ask for the help they needed and the wages of those employed by the state—but 2½ % was the utmost he could demand as *zakat* under the economic conditions of Arabia. But for countries with great differences between the rich and the poor, *zakat* should have been made a progressive and not merely a proportionate tax, if it was to achieve its aim. Instead of this the lower type of legists attempted to find ways by which *zakat* might be avoided altogether while mechanistically adhering to the conditions for *zakat* which the Prophet had laid down. This criticism applies to a very large part of the *Shari'at*; the rules were remembered on the basis of authority, while the social objectives for which these rules had been formulated were completely ignored and no reference to them was considered valid. Secondly, it was accepted as a basic principle that *ijtihad*—the change of the law to suit new circumstances—was no longer possible and that the *Shari'at* must stand unchanged for all time. For the Sunnis (as Molvi Amir Ali Sahib points out in his Introduction to the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*) the *Shari'at* meant the commentaries on the works of Imam Muhammad and the text-books (*fatawa*) of enormous size collecting the opinions expressed in these commentaries without any attempt at reconciling them. As a result, Mr. Nizami rightly remarks, “the law of Islam has remained in a petrified state and has not marched with the times”. But since mankind cannot live without laws suited to the circumstances of the age, the laws (*zawabit*, *a'in*, *torah*) needed were made and amended by the state.

(c) Mr. Nizami gives an excellent account of the conflict of Muslim theologians and of the enormous labour put in by the compilers of the Prophet's precepts, who began their work a century or more after his death. But so far as the Sunnis are concerned, the scholastic theology of al-Ash'ari (ob. 930 A.D.) prevailed and all other schools of thought (with the exception

of the mystics) were suppressed. "This new principle", Mr. Nizami declares, "served as a damper on free-thought and research." Among other things it killed science, which had reached a fairly advanced stage with Alberuni and Avicenna; and it was left to the Europeans to march from pure to applied science and lay the foundations of the modern industrial system with the immense benefits it has brought to the European communities and the great future it holds out to all mankind.

(d) The Prophet left the organisation of political and administrative affairs to the secular good sense (*ijma'*) of his community. Amir Muawiya changed the Caliphate into a *mulk* or monarchy, though he continued the name. With the rise of the Ghaznavide power the first Sultanate in Islamic history was established. "The Sultanate", Mr. Nizami declares, "had no sanction in the *Shari'at*; it was not a legal institution. Its laws were the result of the legislative activity of the rulers and the governing class."

Still the chief features of monarchy as it developed among the Musalmans have to be noted as it was different radically from the monarchy of the Hindus and the Europeans. "A Hindu king", according to the statement of a scholar of the status of my revered friend, Mr. K. M. Munshi, "instead of being the only source of power, was no more than the first among equals, the head of inter-related overlordship, never in the position to overrule the wishes of his feudal lords."¹ The European rulers of the middle ages were bound by feudal customs and none of them, judged by oriental standards, had much power for good or evil. The Church also restricted his authority.

Among the Musalmans, on the other hand, the king claimed a singularity of both 'status and power'. He was expected to respect the rights of private property—of the citizen to his house, of the farmer to his land and, if tradition so demanded, even of the zamindar, *dahqan* or *marzuban* to his ancestral rights to a part of the land-revenue. But the whole sphere of the administration was under his personal control; he appointed and dismissed all the higher and even ordinary military, civil, ecclesiastical and semi-ecclesiastical officers, if he so desired. Even the appointment of minor officers was made subject to his sanction. There were no definite limits to his legislative authority except that he had to leave the laws appertaining to marriage and inheritance untouched. There was only one 'governing-class' among the Muslim communities—the officers of the state appointed and dismissed by the king. *Feudalism in all its forms was quite unknown.* The king could appoint his successors from among his sons and brothers, but his

1. *The Struggle for Empire*, Foreword.

nomination was subject to the assent of the nobles, which was given after his death. If no agreement could be arrived at there would be a war of succession—an unfortunate recurrent affair in the history of Islam.

The essence of monarchy among the Musalmans was its extraordinary concentration of power in the hands of one man and his advisers for the maintenance of internal peace and external expansion. The glory or the sin of laying the foundation of such an institution goes to Amir Muawiya and his successors. "At the end of the first century of the Hijra", says Gibbon¹, "the Caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogatives were not prescribed, either in right or in fact, by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of the senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the Companions of Mohammad expired with their lives and the chiefs of the Arabian tribes left behind in the desert their spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mohammad, and if the Quran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their own expense. Under the last of the Omayyads the Arabian Empire extended two hundred days' journey from the confine of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean."

The absolute monarchy here described lasted as long as hereditary rulers were tolerated among the Musalmans—in India right till the death of Aurangzeb; and one of the elements that contributed to its maintenance—fear of anarchy—still expresses itself in present-day Muslim preference of autocracy to democratic regimes. Nevertheless Gibbon's sweeping judgement requires substantial modification. (i) "The larger the state, the less the liberty," Rousseau has rightly said. The Musalmans of medieval 'Ajam preferred states of enormous size, many of their regions produced only a limited number of commodities and they could only provide all the requisites of their lives by trade and commerce backed up by a culture and law common to all regions. So they preferred a big empire to a set of smaller kingdoms. Representative institutions were, of course, unknown, and could not have worked under the circumstances. (ii) It is obvious, secondly, that absolute power over extensive countries could only be exercised by men of extraordinary ability and working power; worthless, pleasure-seeking rulers were

1. *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, LI.

soon liquidated. (iii) Public opinion was always a force to be reckoned with, specially when it was supported by the government officers; in many regions the tribes and their chiefs also limited the power of the central government. (iv) Lastly, the ablest of emperors could only establish and maintain his power by organising a proper administrative system run by officers whom he had appointed, a stable land-revenue and commendable body of state-laws. The permanence of his dynasty (apart from the fact that his successors may be unworthy) depended upon the value of this administrative system. Generally speaking the best administrative system that could be evolved in the middle ages degenerated or became out of date in a century, more or less.

The power of the monarch among the Musalmans was closely related to that of the officers of the state. These officers could be appointed and dismissed by the ruler; on the other hand they had a hand in the selection of a new ruler, who also depended upon them for the maintenance of his authority. The chief problem for a Muslim monarch was to manage his officers, most of whom were appointed by his predecessor and all of whom resented central control. This fact is so well illustrated by the history of India during the thirteenth century that no further discussion of it is necessary.

It is obvious that the ruler had to draw his officers from a single culture-group. (In the case of the Mughal Empire, which is rather singular, they were drawn from various culture-groups on the basis of mutual tolerance). Amir Muawiya and the Omayyads chose their high officers from the noble Arab clans; the Abbasids preferred to rely on highly Arabicised Persians as well as some noble-born Arabs, but in the period of the minor Abbasids after Mu'tasim, the Turks who had been brought in as the Caliph's body-guard proved stronger than any other group. Meanwhile the Samanid rulers, who were Persians in origin but governed a predominantly Turkish population, carefully organised the Turkish slaves for the service of the state. As a result of these two movements the higher as well as second rate offices came into the hands of various Turkish groups in all Muslim countries. For a non-Turk to occupy a high office was exceptional, though if we take the Muslim lands as a whole, there were plenty of exceptions. But Muslim social consciousness seemed to accept the fact that there was no alternative to a Turkish governing-class, whether good or bad. The Turkish communities may be defined as the people living north of a line joining the Gulf of Alexandretta to southern Badakhshan, though several Turkish groups like the Ghorians and Gharjistanis lived south of this line. Turkish rule in Iran was overthrown after six centuries by Shah Isma'il Safavi, a contemporary of Babur but in many Muslim countries it lasted till the rise

of modern European imperialism. Concerning the social composition of Akbar's *mansabdars*, Mr. Moreland states: "Omitting a small number of officers whose origin is not on record, I find that just under 70 per cent of the remainder belonged to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at Court after the accession of Akbar, the remaining 30% of the appointments were held by Indians, rather more than half by (Indian) Muslims, and rather less than half by Hindus."¹ During the thirteenth century, as Mr. Nizami's narrative makes clear, many of the Indian Muslims, who aspired to high office, were put to death.

(e) No living scholar has studied Indo-Muslim mysticism (*tasawwuf*) with more care than Mr. Nizami. Since something of mysticism is found in all religions, non-Muslim writers have tried to find the origin of Muslim mysticism in Christianity, Hellenism, Manicheism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Parseeism. "But Muslim mystics", says Mr. Nizami, "have always combated such theories and have claimed that mysticism is based on the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. That *Tasawwuf* (mysticism) is essentially Islamic in *origin* is as true as the fact that as the mystic movement spread to various regions it assimilated and imbibed elements from cultures and religions that were different from its own." This is correct. Within my limited study I have only come across one reference to a non-Muslim authority; the *Misbahul Hidayah* in discussing the doctrine of repentance bases it on a saying of Lord Christ: "You shall not enter the kingdom of heaven unless you are born again." On the other hand many mystic conceptions among the Musalmans have a purely non-Muslim origin. The foundation of the *silsilah*, which Mr. Nizami has explained with such clarity, is the authority of the spiritual teacher or *guru*. But the Quran, and in fact Arabic classical literature, has no term for such a conception; so the word, *Shaikh*, which meant a leader, a distinguished man or tribal chief, was used to indicate a mystic spiritual guide. How far the higher grades of mystic saints—*Qutbul Aqtab* (Axis of the Axes), *Qutb* (Axis) etc.—were suggested by theories about Boddhisatvas then current in Central Asia is a matter of speculation. The same may be said about the territories (*wilayats*) of the saints.

I have nothing to add to what Mr. Nizami says about the Chishti and the Suhrawardi *silsilahs* in India. But the story is left unfinished. Many Companions of the Prophet kept away from the empire which Amir Muawiyah had formed because it was a thing of sin, an organisation of the governing class based on the exploitation of the governed, while they were not in a position to oppose it. Most religious leaders, mystic and non-mystic,

1. *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 69-70.

of the middle ages adopted the same attitude. The great Chishti Shaikhs upto the successors of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Aulia (*Circa* 1350 A.D.) followed this principle. After that mystics of repute began to seek for their disciples among high officers or the kings of minor dynasties, who could afford to maintain them; at the same time they appointed their sons as their chief successors in order to maintain the prosperity of their families. Since these mystics lived under administrative protection, they lost touch with the public. Muslim mystic thought, properly so-called, ceased to advance. A new type of Indian teachers appeared, who are best represented by Kabir. Dr. Tara Chand in his classical work enumerates some seventeen sects who substantially taught the same doctrines as Kabir: "All the men and women that are created are Thy form; Kabir is the son of *Allah* and Rama. He is Kabir's *Guru* and *Pir*. The Hindus and the Turks have one path which the True Teacher has pointed out... The religion of those who understand is one, whether they are *Pandits* or Shaikhs."¹ All these teachers affirmed faith in one God, by whatever name He be called; they rejected caste, affirmed the equality of man, considered Hinduism and Islam to be equally true and were completely free from all bias against Islam. They were pacific and non-violent and asked both Hindus and Musalmans to discard their exclusiveness, to respect all living creatures and to abstain from bloodshed. Like the Chishti mystics before them, they appealed to their fellow-countrymen, mostly of the lower orders, and did not seek the patronage of any sultan, raja, amir and wazir. The members of these sects were either cultivators or traders with small capital. The absence of any anti-Muslim feeling among these sects is certainly a proof that they had not suffered from any Muslim religious persecution. Dr. R. C. Majumdar is correct in saying that the number of persons belonging to these sects was very small. But what mattered really was the deep influence of their attitude both on the Hindus and the Musalmans, and owing to that influence a new India was born.

III

The main part of Mr. Nizami's work is concerned with various aspects of Muslim life in the thirteenth century; there is much in it that is new, based on manuscripts the author has discovered or studied for the first time, and little that can be matter for controversy.

But as to the 'Advent of the Turks', Mr. Nizami remarks: "The Turkish invasions were not inspired by any religious or proselytising fervour. Shihab-u'd-din's first conflict on the Indian soil took place not with a Hindu

1. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 165.

raja but with a Muslim co-religionist and he faced them with the same determination and spirit in which he carried his arms into Aryavarta. The Ghurid successes were not followed by any retaliatory action inspired by religious zeal or fanaticism. They handled the situation in the light of expediency and entered into a series of compromises without any partiality or prejudice."

No correct comprehension of the political events of the thirteenth century and, in fact, of the middle ages is possible unless a clear distinction is drawn between the Turkish governing-class group and the ordinary Indian-born Musalmans. Hinduism is a tolerant creed and, as the accounts of the Arab travellers definitely prove, the Hindu rajas allowed Musalmans to settle in suburbs of their capitals and gave them lands for their houses, mosques and graves. The works of the Arab travellers also show that, in spite of the caste-system, the Muslims had a free run of the land. Small cultural Muslim colonies seem to have been gradually established in many parts of India. These Musalmans and the Hindu converts who joined them had no say in the *policy* of the government of medieval India.

The Turks, on the other hand, were a definite governing-class group, who insisted on maintaining their identity and monopolising most, if not all, high offices. The whole responsibility of the policy of the government rested upon these Turks or Turanis. During the Moghul Empire they formed a closed group of *mansabdars*, called *Khanazadas*. But what has happened to these Turks? It is impossible to find a Turk anywhere in India today. Our census ignores them. You can only after prolonged search find a Turkish village in India. Even Indo-Muslim families tracing their origin to Moghal *mansabdars* are limited in number. The Rajput families have kept some memory of their ancestors, correct or legendary. It is strange that the descendants of the great Turkish officers of the Sultanate period did nothing of the kind. We only know of the Turks from the historical works of the middle ages, from the buildings and mausoleums they have left and the temples they are alleged to have destroyed. No living memory of them remains. The Turks or Turushkas have shared the fate of Yavanas, Hunas, Sakas and other conquering settlers in India, and are not to be found anywhere. Also nobody knows for certain how they vanished.

The Musalmans of India, on the other hand, have not for centuries been conscious of any foreign affiliations. It has to be added that neither in Persia nor in India has modern research been able to find any authentic contemporary literature to show how Islam spread in either country. But even a cursory glance at the homelands of the Delhi Empire, where the

Musalmans number only about 10%, will show that there were no conversions in the countryside and the conversions in the *gasbas* and cities were confined to the lower non-caste groups, such as weavers, elephant-drivers, butchers, fishermen and the like, whom the *Manusmriti* classified as non-caste groups and who were denied the privilege of living within the cities and walled towns.¹ These conversions probably took place on the basis of the decision of the local caste-guilds. But once the decision was taken it was impossible to go back upon it. The Musalmans of India, as an organised community, are not responsible for the policy of the medieval state. But they are responsible for organising an internal *social life* of their own quite different from that of their Hindu neighbours with whom they have otherwise mixed freely in all the common affairs of life. But so long as Hindu society was organised on the basis of caste, they really had no alternative. The doctrine of contamination, which is the basis of caste, is alien to their whole outlook. "The mouths of all men are clean, regardless of their religion," says the *Shari'at* text-book, *Kanz-ud-Daqa'iq*, "and the mouths of all animals are clean, except of the dog and the pig". Had the reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth century succeeded in abolishing the caste-system, the pace of the unifying forces would have been accelerated.

But to return to our theme. The invasions of Sultan Mahmud only brought disgrace to the creed he professed. It must be remembered, however, that Mas'ud brought back to India a good part of the treasures his father had taken away and that Hindu constructive capacity soon rebuilt Somnath and whatever other temples he had destroyed. Also if the Ghaznavide historians and their successors were not there to tell us of the havoc Sultan Mahmud wrought, Hinduism has no living memory about him and no records either.

The army which Shihab-u'd-din Ghorî led to defeat at the first battle of Tarain consisted entirely of Ghorian Turks (now called Hazaras) and the Khaljis, who lived on the banks of the river Helmund. The Musalmans of India, whose number then was small but not insignificant, took no part in this enterprise and reaped none of its fruits.

What was the cause of the Ghorian success? Mr. Nizami's answer is—the caste-system! Is that a correct answer? It has been an established convention since the eighth century that educated Musalmans will have the privilege of associating with the upper class Hindus (so far as caste-rules allow) on an equal basis. As a result they have known neither the privileges

1. *Manusmriti*, Buhler's translation I, 93, 99, 100, 105, III, 119; X, 25-45, 51-62.

and happiness that come to the Brahmans and Kshatriyas as the consequence of their birth nor the degradation and miseries that the *sudra* and *chandalas* have to face from the cradle to the grave. Muslim descriptions of the caste-system have been purely formal and are devoid of depth and critical appreciation. The caste-system can only be understood by those who have been born into it, who have lived surrounded by it but have succeeded in transcending it. We must be guided about it by the opinion of our Hindu historians, who have a first hand-knowledge of this institution both from books and personal experience.

(i) The most important authority is Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 'the doyen of modern medieval historians'. In his volume on *Shivaji* (Chapter XVI) he remarks :

"Caste grows by fission ! It is antagonistic to national union. In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu *swaraj* was based on orthodoxy, it contained within itself the seed of its own decay.

"As Rabindranath Tagore remarks: 'A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over the country and we imagine that it has been united; but the rents and holes in our body social do their work secretly; we cannot retain any noble idea long'".

"Shivaji aimed at preserving the rents; he wished to save from Mughal attack a Hindu society to which ceremonial distinctions and isolation of castes are the very breath of life. He wanted to make this heterogeneous society triumphant over *all* India. He wove ropes of sand; he attempted the impossible. It is beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the universe, to establish the *swaraj* of such a caste-ridden, isolated, internally-torn sect over a vast continent like India.

"Shivaji and his father-in-law, Gaikwar, were *Marathas*, i.e. members of a despised caste. Before the rise of the national movement in the Deccan in the closing years of the nineteenth century, a Brahman of Maharashtra used to be insulted if he was called a Maratha. "No", he would reply with warmth, "I am a *Dakshina Brahman*". Shivaji keenly felt his humiliation at the hands of the Brahmans to whose defence and prosperity he had devoted his life. Their insistence on treating him as a Shudra drove him into the arms of Balaji Avji, the leader of the Kaysthas, and another victim of Brahmanic pride".

At the end of his classical work on *Aurangzeb*, the great historian gives his final and very correct verdict :

"The rigidity of Islam has enabled its followers in all lands to succeed up to a certain point. But there they have stopped, while progress is the law of life in the living world.

While Europe has been steadily advancing, the stationary East has been relatively falling back, and every year that passes increases the distance between Europe and Asia in knowledge, organisation, accumulated resources and acquired capacity and makes it increasingly difficult for the Asiatics to compete with the Europeans.....which is only another way of saying that enterprising families are constantly replacing sleepy self-satisfied ones in the leadership of our own society.....*If India is to be the home of a nation able to keep peace within and guard the frontier, develop the economic resources and promote art and science, then both Hinduism and Islam must die and be born again. Each of these creeds must pass through a rigorous vigil and penance, each must be purified and rejuvenated under the sway of reason and science.* That such a rebirth for Islam is not impossible, has been demonstrated in our own days by the conqueror of Smyrna. Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha has proved that the greatest Muslim State of the age can secularise its constitution, abolish polygamy and the servile seclusion of women, grant political equality to all creeds, and yet not cease to be a land of Islam."

(ii) Harshavardhana, the last ruler of the whole of northern India, died in 647 A.D.—just fifteen years after the Prophet of Islam. In the five and a half centuries that followed, Hinduism which had been an expanding culture, developed the psychology of territorial retreat from foreign lands, leaving its great achievements in architecture and sculpture behind it. At home no advance was made on the science of the Gupta Age, which the Musalmans studied with such sedulous care and handed on to Europe. The mental attitude of the age is best illustrated by the fact that the place of honour is occupied by the commentaries on the *Smritis*, which are mostly repetitive. The Sanskrit scholars, who have contributed to Vol. V of Vidya-bhavan Series (*Struggle for Empire*) are all united in declaring that, compared with the history of Hindu culture and Sanskrit literature as a whole, this period was singularly unproductive. Meanwhile the Kshatriya rajas (the term Rajput did not come into use till the Mughal period) fought with each other year after year not for self-defence or profit but apparently from habit and a sense of duty; the obligation of killing and being killed is a sacred duty imposed by the *Manusmriti* and the similar scriptures on all Kshatriyas. As a result (a) northern India was split up into a number of dynasties constantly at war. (b) These wars probably were confined to the rajas and their retainers, who had land-grants on the condition of fighting for their rajas; still they could not but create intense hatred at the dynastic level between the Kshatriya groups, and this made any union in the face of the Ghorian invaders quite impossible.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, for whom I have the most profound respect, is a great lawyer well-acquainted with Muslim ways of life, a profound scholar and a far-sighted statesman. Nevertheless his review of this period is full of contradictions. It is impossible to reconcile the contradiction of the following statements (*Foreword, Struggle for Empire*).

(a) "The Indian kings, all of whom accepted, at any rate in theory, the law of *Dharmasastras* as inalienable, waged wars according to certain humane rules. Whatever the provocation, the shrine, the Brahmana and the cow were sacrosanct to them. *War being a special privilege of the martial classes*, harassment of the civil population during military operation was considered a serious lapse from the code of honour". Still war means killing and being killed—a process which is bound to evoke not love but hatred; and if fighting is made 'the special privilege of the martial classes' and groups of the martial classes are always at war, the collapse of the country is inevitable.

(b) "The 'Aryavarta-consciousness' was mainly religio-cultural in content.... This consciousness in its political aspect had all but disappeared during the few decades which preceded A.D. 1000 on account of the recurrent upheavals in Northern India.... At the turn of the tenth century, therefore, there was no generally accepted national focus in the country, as Kannauj had once been, and no military power in North India strong enough to keep the warring kings in check or to co-ordinate their activities against the foreign invader".

(c) But to complete the set of amusing contradictions, it has to be added that Mr. Munshi does not live according to the caste-system and, as his name indicates, he comes from highly respected family of Hindus who have been eminent as Persian scholars, and the Persian work of one of his ancestors is being edited by my friend, Professor Sa'id Hasan of Allahabad. Nevertheless, it pleases him to stand forth as an advocate of the caste-system:

"*Chaturvarnya*, the divinely ordained four-fold order of society embraced all (?) social groups.....Century after century, the system, first formulated by the *Manusmriti*, was accepted throughout the country, never by force of arms, less by royal fiats than by the sanction implied in the belief that 'God gave it and the ancestors obeyed it'.....Its fundamental aim was to produce a synthetic urge towards human betterment, which treated economic, social, material, and ethical and spiritual well-being as indivisible; *an aim which has yet to be improved upon by any other system*".

Now if God Himself is responsible for dividing His chosen people in India into four groups with a view to their improvement, while He has left the rest of mankind free to organise its affairs on other lines, the student of history, who knows nothing about 'the ways of God' is perforce silenced. Also the Hindu community has the exclusive right of interpreting its own scriptures. But modern Hindu leaders from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Mahatmaji have rejected the caste-system.

(iii) Dr. Parmatama Saran, the only contributor to the *Struggle for Empire*, who is a distinguished scholar of both Sanskrit and Persian, and is also well-acquainted with the working of the caste-system at all levels, has attempted to solve the problem, and his verdict deserves a careful consideration:

“The astounding rapidity of the Turkish conquest constitutes an important problem for the students of Indian history. It is puzzling, nay almost baffling, to explain the almost complete collapse of Northern India, within an incredibly short time, before the onslaught of invaders whose powers and resources were hardly equal to some of the bigger Hindu states, not to speak of a combination of them.....History would be meaningless if facts of such outstanding importance cannot be viewed in their true perspective against a proper background.....Apart from a few incidental notices or brief allusions, the Hindu sources are silent about the great episode. It is equally unwarranted to attribute it (the Ghorian success) solely to the social and religious peculiarities of the Hindus, for our ideas about them are also vague and indistinct and based on no sure knowledge of facts”.

The version of the defenders is unknown and there cannot, therefore, be any finality in our judgement. But subject to these ‘natural limitations,’ Dr. Saran proceeds to enumerate the probable causes of the Ghorian success:

“The foremost among these seems to be the iniquitous system of caste and the absence of contact with the outside world. The first resulted in a fragmentation of Indian society into mutually exclusive classes, among whom the privileged minority kept their vested interests by depriving the masses of many civic rights, specially of education and of free intercourse and association on equal terms with their fellow-men, and further, by imposing on them the most irritating disabilities on the one hand, and a tremendous weight of innumerable duties and obligations towards the privileged classes on the other. And this evil led to another. It bred among the leaders of the Indian people a vain pride in isolationism and insularity and that attitude of arrogance which has been noticed by Alberuni.....

“This spirit of exclusive superiority was created and maintained by a process of intellectual fraud, inasmuch as the entire literature of the period was utilised for this purpose and the masses were asked to follow it blindly in the name of the Holy Writ, to question whose authority was an unpardonable sin. It thus became a part of the Hindu *dharma* not to cross the seas or even the territorial limits of certain hallowed areas!.....

“The degraded level to which the majority were pushed down made them indifferent to the country-wide dangers and kindred problems. This alone made possible the woeful situation that while the invaders swept across the country, the masses mostly remained inert. The people of the land, with few exceptions, were indifferent to what was happening around them. Their voice had been hushed in silence by a religio-social tyranny. No public upheaval greets the foreigner, nor are any organised efforts made to stop him. Like a paralysed body, the Indian people helplessly look on while the conqueror marches over their corpse. They look staggered, ‘for a moment, only to sink back into an acquiescence to the inevitable to which they have been taught to submit.....

"History had no meaning for the Hindu kings who presided over the destinies of this woe-stricken land. The repeated warnings of the past went unheeded....One thing seems to be reasonably certain. The utter and precipitate prostration of such a vast and ancient land, endowed with resources far superior and greater to her invaders, can be the result mainly of internal decay and not merely of external attacks, which were its effect rather than its cause".

(iv) One of the most balanced of our modern authorities, Dr. Tara Chand, comments as follows:

"India on the eve of the Muslim conquest resembled Greece before the rise of the Macedonian into power. There was the same incapacity in both regions to create a political union, and there was the same keenness in the pursuit of science, literature and art. The analogy went further, for if the Macedonian was the semi-hellenised Greek, the Turk that swept over India was a non-Hinduised Rajput.....The Muslim conquest had a tremendous effect upon the evolution of Indian culture. Superficially, it upset everything.....Fundamentally it had a different effect.

"When Qutb-u'd-din Aibek decided to stay in Hindustan, he had no other choice but to retain the Hindu staff which was familiar with the civil administration, for without it all government, including the collection of revenue, would have fallen into chaos... The Muslims who came into India made it their home. They lived surrounded by the Hindu people and a state of perennial hostility with them was impossible. Mutual intercourse led to mutual understanding. Many who had changed their faith differed little from those whom they had left. Thus after the first shock of conquest was over, the Hindus and Muslims preferred to find a *via media* whereby to live as neighbours. The efforts to seek a new life led to the development of a new culture which was neither exclusively Hindu nor purely Muslim. It was indeed Muslim-Hindu culture. Not only did Hindu religion, Hindu art, Hindu literature and Hindu science absorb Muslim elements, but the very spirit of Hindu culture and the very stuff of Hindu mind were altered, and the Muslim reciprocated by responding to the change in every department of life".

V

In view of the extracts given above the reader will be safe in accepting the opinions expressed in Mr. Nizami's chapters on the "Advent of the Turks" and the "Character of the Empire" as fundamentally correct. He sums up the authorities quoted above in a single sentence: "Had the Hindu *masses* resisted the Turkish rule in India, the Ghurids would not have been able to retain even an inch of Indian territory."

Since Mr. Nizami is only concerned with the social and cultural life of the Musalmans, I will venture to offer a few considerations that will enable the reader to coordinate Mr. Nizami's 'thought' with the well-known works of Indian history.

(i) *The cultural unification of India was an Aryan achievement.* Without that common culture India could never have been unified. By the tenth

century the caste-system was out-of-date in India and everywhere else. But in ancient times there was no alternative to it. The Hindu teachers could only teach people what they could understand—the sacred scriptures, like the Vedas to the elect and the stories of Ramayana and the Mahabharata to the multitude. *Mr. Nizami says that Islam is designed as a city-creed; he should also have added that Hinduism, with its songs, dances and popular festivals in which all can share, is suited more to the countryside. But the administrative unification of India was a Turkish achievement and they were driven to it by circumstances rather than by conscious planning.* Shihab-u'd-din Ghori apparently wanted several governments in India to replace the governments of the Hindu rulers, and had had established at least three centres in India—Aiybek at Lahore, Baha-u'd-din Tughril at Bayana and Qubacha in Sind. Tughril was apparently expected to conquer regions further East; but the Rai of Gwalior preferred to submit to Aiybek, Tughril died before he could wage a war with Aiybek and Shihab-u'd-din, accepted the accomplished fact. Qubacha's power was weakened by the Mongol invasions, and Iltutmish, the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate, succeeded in crushing Qubacha in the East and 'Auz Khalji in the West. So the state of Delhi (which with two interregna of a century, and a century and a half) still stands, appeared in history for the first time. All the slaves of Shihab-u'd-din and Iltutmish—the Forty—desired independence, but they were not prepared to liquidate the central authority completely. After a struggle between the centrifugal and the centripetal powers, the centripetal power prevailed, for the average Turkish governor realised that without a centralised authority, he would be crushed between the Hindu rulers and the Mongols.

(ii) Mr. Munshi says that in three-fourths of the country India followed its unbroken way of life, where *Dharmasastras* were honoured and obeyed and Hinduism flourished unobstructed. Now if Hinduism means 'Aryavarta-consciousness'—i.e. religious freedom—then it was alive in the whole of India. The best *vaid*s and Hindu astrologers were to be found in Delhi and the best Hindu teachers at Banaras. The great centres of Hindu culture in northern India, like Mathura, Hardwar, Kara, etc. were within the Empire of Delhi. All authorities, including fanatics like Barani and Badauni, are united in declaring that Delhi throughout had a majority Hindu population and that the upper-class Hindus were more prosperous than the upper-class Musalmans. The great officers of the Empire, who were given a fair percentage of the revenues of prosperous Indian provinces, never succeeded in balancing their budget and were constantly in debt to the *sahas* (bankers) of Delhi.

But more concretely the position during the thirteenth century may be described as follows:

(a) From the Indus to the Brahmaputra there is a flat plain studded with cities. It was easy for the Turks to conquer these cities, the Turks allowed the non-caste groups or *Chandalas* to settle within the cities and the cities, as Mr. Nizami explains, grew in size, productive capacity and prosperity.

(b) But the Turks were unable to conquer at one sweep the great hill-forts, the hill-tracts and the desert plains. Here the independent and semi-independent rajas held sway; and with reference to them the ruler of Delhi had to embark on 'the labours of sisyphus'. Forts and principalities were conquered and lost again and again. It was not till Akbar promulgated his theory of *Watan-jagir* that the problem was partly solved. A Turk was only appointed to his *mansab* for life, subject to demotion, promotion and dismissal. A Rajput raja, if he joined the *mansabdari* system, was guaranteed his hereditary lands on a hereditary basis as his *watan*, in addition to it he was granted a *mansab*, the income of which was considerably greater than the income of his *watan*, which the leaders of his class insisted on sharing with him.

(c) The Turkish rulers were unable to establish their power in the rural areas. Here there were Hindu chiefs, who can be divided into two groups—first, the *rais*, *ranas* and *rawats*, who had armies of their own and were, for example, able to join Malik Chajju in his rebellion against Sultan Jalal-u'd-din. Secondly, the village-headmen (*chaudharis*, *muqaddams*, *khots*), who according to 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, imitated their betters, kept small armies and imprisoned the agents of the imperial revenue department. It appears that the Turkish government made written agreements (*Khat*) with local Hindu chiefs about the sums they were to pay while leaving them free to tax the cultivator (*bilahir*) in whatever way they wanted. But the Turkish rulers could only be certain of the revenues of their cities, including taxes on the commodities brought into them from the countryside. The revenue from the rural areas could often only be realised at the point of the sword. On a rough calculation I am inclined to conclude that the revenue realised by the Delhi government did not exceed in amount the military expenditure it incurred on these revenue-collecting campaigns.

(d) "The Hindus", says Mr. Munshi, "remained in the sphere of trade, commerce and banking. The Muslims, however, intolerant, had to treat the Hindu mercantile community with consideration, though it was

inspired by self-interest and often grudging". According to the contemporary evidence of the fanatical Barani, they not only remained but flourished. The Musalmans of northern India, when educated, were given small clerical jobs or they became teachers or got junior posts as *muazzins* and prayer-leaders of the mosques. The Turks considered business below their dignity. Add to it, business is not possible without loans and interest, and since Islam prohibits interest, it inevitably makes business loans impossible. Small shopkeepers, whom Barani hates, may have been both Hindus and Musalmans. But the great merchants, whom he accuses of cornering and regrating were Hindus—Hindu traders (*Saudagar-i-Karawani*) and Hindu wholesale dealers (*Saudagar-i-bazari*). Behind them were the *sahas* (merchants) who financed both. The establishment of the Empire of Delhi—the growth of the towns and their industries, the security of roads, the elimination of internal taxes—greatly contributed to the growth of the Hindu mercantile community. Under the old regime the Hindu merchants—a non-warlike community—was not a part of the governing-class. It got no government jobs under the new governments either. But it got the government contracts it wanted and could undertake. 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, when organising his economic reforms, had to depend upon the Hindu *nayaks* for grain and the Hindu merchants of Multan for cloth. And these are the two basic commodities of the market.

I cannot close this discussion without quoting the fanatical paragraph (*Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, Advice XI) in which Zia-u'd-din Barani describes the position of the Hindus after Firoz Shah Tughluq had reigned for about ten years:

"In the capital (Delhi) and in the cities of the Musalmans the customs of infidelity are openly practised, idols are publicly worshipped, *and the traditions of infidelity are adhered to with greater insistence than before.....* Openly and without fear, the infidels continue their rejoicings during their festivals with the beat of drums and *dhols* and with singing and dancing. By paying merely a few *tankas* and the *jizya*, *they are able to continue the traditions of infidelity by giving lessons in the books of their false faith and enforcing the orders of these books.*

"The desire for overthrowing infidels and knocking down idolaters does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings (of India). On the other hand, out of consideration for the fact that infidels and polytheists are payers of taxes and protected persons, these infidels are honoured, distinguished, favoured and made eminent; the kings bestow drums, banners, ornaments, cloaks of brocade and caparisoned horses upon them and appoint them to governships, high posts and offices. And in their capital (Delhi), owing to the status of which the status of all other Muslim cities is raised, Muslim kings not only allow but are pleased with the fact that infidels, polytheists, idol-worshippers and cow-dung worshippers build houses like palaces, wear clothes of brocade and ride Arab horses caparisoned with gold and silver-ornaments. They are equipped with a hundred thousand sources of strength.

They live in delights and comforts. They take Musalmans into their service and make them run before their horses, poor Musalmans beg of them at their doors; and in the capital of Islam owing to which edifice of Islam is elevated, they are called *rais* (great rulers), *ranas* (minor rulers), *thakurs* (warriors), *sahas* (bankers), *mehtas* (clerks, officers) and *pandits* (priests)."

Mohammed

Hebi

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Political Expansion and Ideological Integration of Islam till the 13th Century

SECTION ONE

RISE OF ISLAM AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN WORLD HISTORY

The rise and expansion of Islam is one of the most significant events of world history. In 610 A.D. the Prophet Muhammad began to preach a new faith in Arabia, a country then sunk in barbarism and superstition. Within a century of the Prophet's death, the banner of Islam was floating on the confines of India on the one side, and the shores of the Atlantic on the other. Two of the greatest empires of the middle ages—the Byzantine and the Sassanid—were shaken to their foundations. To attribute this phenomenal success of the new faith to the might of Arab arms alone would be to over-emphasise the function of force in human achievements. An explanation of this success should be sought, not so much in the strength of the Muslim armies, but in the revolutionary import of the principles of the new social order which Islam preached and strove to establish. People hail a new order not out of mere curiosity, but under the compulsion of despair and frustration born of suffering. Once a social idea appears at such a stage of human suffering 'it grips the masses and becomes a material force'.

The Prophet Muhammad began his teachings with two revolutionary concepts—unity of God¹ and unity of human origin². These principles

1. Monotheism, it may be pointed out, was not something new to be preached by the Prophet of Islam. All preceding prophets had preached it but, as Le Bon very aptly says, no religion had ever preached monotheism in such clear and unequivocal terms as Islam did (*Tamaddun-i-'Arab*, p. 120). The *differentia* of Islam in this respect, according to Shah Wali-ullah, is not merely the affirmation of the unity of Godhead but also the rejection of all other gods except God. See *Hujjat-ullah al-Balighah*, Chapter XXXVII on *Tauhid*, pp. 58-59.

2. In the middle ages we find very often the rulers and the nobility tracing their ancestry to the sun and the moon or to some supernatural power. This was done in order to make their position unassailable and impress on the mind of the common people their superior status on account of their birth. Islam smashed this idea by declaring:

“O mankind! We created
You from a single (pair)
Of a male and a female,
And made you into
Nations and tribes, that
Ye may know each other
Not that ye may despise
Each other. Verily
The most honoured of you
In the sight of God
Is (he who is) the most
Righteous of you.”

—S. XLIX: 13. See also S. XXII: 5; S. IV:1; S. VI: 98.

had a very deep and far-reaching effect on the social and economic institutions of the middle ages.

Apart from its theological and metaphysical significance, faith in the unity of God is of supreme social value. "The essence of *Tauhid*," observes Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, "as a working idea is equality, solidarity and freedom.¹" The principle of unity in cosmic order which naturally follows from it acts as a great integrating and cohesive force in human society. The place of local, tribal and family gods is taken by one Supreme God. It is a change from heterogeneity to homogeneity, from confusion to order and from diversity to unity. All people, high and low, approach Him in the same manner; He listens to everyone and is directly approachable by everyone. There is no need of an intermediary to invoke His help. In fact the very idea of direct communion with God—the All-Powerful, the Almighty—revolutionizes the whole life of man. It broadens his outlook and enables him to adjust his relations and loyalties with worldly authorities on a human and equitable level. "Islam as a polity" says Iqbal, "is only a practical means of making this principle (of *Tauhid*) a living factor in the intellectual and emotional life of mankind. *It demands loyalty to God not to thrones. And since God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature.*²" This monotheistic conception of God united the Arab tribes and enabled them to found an international community. It exercised the same stabilising and sobering effect on the religious life of the people of Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt where the conflicts of Magian mysticism, Jewish conservatism and Christian bigotry had hopelessly confused the religious outlook of man and had prevented the growth of a coherent and integrated view of life. Islam emerged into the civilized world "as a moral force that commanded respect and a coherent doctrine that could challenge on their own ground the Christianity of East Rome and the Zoroastrianism of Persia."³ Islamic monotheism tended to introduce unity and homogeneity in social, religious and civic spheres.

The principle of human equality, which naturally follows from the principle of the unity of human origin, revolutionized social relations. It contrasted sharply with the laws governing the class-ridden societies of the Roman, Byzantine, Persian and, later, of the Indian Empires. Islam took the most effective step towards the elimination of all discriminations in

1. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 154.

2. *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 147.

3. *Mohammadanism*, H.A.R. Gibb, p. 4.

human society and pronounced in unambiguous terms the equality of men before law.

In his last speech at Mecca the Prophet thus explained the principles on which the socio-political organization of Islam was to rest:

Hearken to my words, O men, for I know not whether I shall see you here another year.

All customs of paganism have been abolished under my feet.

The Arab is not superior to the non-Arab; the non-Arab is not superior to the Arab. You are all sons of Adam and Adam was made of earth. Verily all Muslims are brothers.

Your slaves! Feed them as you feed yourselves and dress them as you dress yourselves.

The blood feuds of the Time of Ignorance are prohibited.

Remember Allah (in your dealings with) women. You have rights over them and they have rights over you.

Verily, you should consider each other's blood, property and reputation inviolable unto the Day of Judgement.

Verily, a man is responsible only for his own acts. A son is not responsible for the crimes of his father, nor is a father responsible for the crimes of his son.

If a deformed Abyssinian slave holds authority over you and leads you according to the Book of Allah, obey him.¹

The main features of medieval social and political life were the (1) Divinity of Kings or the Divine Right of Kings, (2) racial discrimination, (3) social distinctions and social disabilities, (4) slavery, (5) economic exploitation of the worker, (6) subjection of women, (7) disregard of an individual's life or right of property and (8) indiscriminate punishments. The Prophet made clear the attitude of Islam with reference to these problems. "All the fundamental principles of the Muslim State," remarks Professor Habib, "are here. Racial differences are to count for naught; all are equals; all are brothers; neither law nor social opinion must make any differences between the high-born and the low. A man's right to his person, to the produce of his labour and to the reputation his character has earned for him, is as sacred and inviolable as the holiest of places; no alleged State-necessity, no fanatical prejudices or party interests can be allowed to infringe them. Civil war is to be abhorred. No monopoly of offices or power; no kings; no oligarchy; no priesthood—the humblest of slaves has as much right to be at the head of the State as the noblest of Quraish. A righteous

1. This speech has been quoted by Ibn-i-Hisham, Ibn-i-Khaldun, Waqidi, and others in their works. See also, *Sirat-un-Nabi*, Maulana Shibli, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 153-168.

government alone is entitled to the allegiance of its subjects; all else is usurpation and must be swept aside. There are to be no 'pariah' or low castes; the slave is entitled to the same food and drink as his master and has the same political privileges as a freeman. The customs of paganism—blood-feuds, usury, the subjection of women—are abolished once for all¹."

To appreciate the role of Islam in the medieval world one has to make a comparative study of the Islamic *Shari'at* with reference to the legal and social set-up of the two great Empires of the middle ages—the Roman and the Sassanid. When we refer to the Roman Law we do not mean the law of any particular community or any particular area. "It was", rightly observes Dr. H. J. Roby, "with more or less modifications from local customs and ecclesiastical authority, *the only system of law throughout the Middle Ages*²." A comparison of the Muslim *Shari'at* with the Roman Law, therefore, means a comparative study of Muslim *Shari'at* with reference to the law of the middle ages as a whole. A comparison with the Sassanid legal system will reveal the causes of the success of Islam in Persia and Central Asia—lands where most of the social and political institutions of medieval India originated and developed.

Stratification of Society

According to the legal system of Rome, people were grouped into a number of classes, each distinguished from the other by the status assigned to it by law. On the one hand there were the free born (*ingenuous*) citizens (*civis*) of full age and complete capacity, who enjoyed the widest rights; on the other hand there were the slaves who were deprived of all claims to the enjoyment of legal rights in the society. Between these two extremes there were a number of intermediate classes of persons, each with its distinguishing characteristics³.

The Sassanids divided the entire society into the following classes⁴:

- (1) *Azarvan* (theologians),
- (2) *Artaishtaran* (warriors),
- (3) *Dabiran* (government officers),
- (4) Common people—including peasants (*vastarushan*) and the artisans and traders (*hutkhashan*).

1. *The Arab Conquest of Sind* (Islamic Culture, October, 1929 pp. 592-594).

2. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 53.

3. *Roman Private Law*, R.W. Leage, p. 49.

4. *L'Iran Sous Les Sassanides*, A Christensen; Urdu Translation by Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, (Anjuman Tarraqi-i-Urdu, Delhi, 1941) p. 126.

This division of society was permanent and rigid. No one could cross over from one class to the other. The law was made to perpetuate this distinction in society and the privileges of the first three classes were jealously protected and guaranteed by the State. It was not possible for a person born in a low family—however gifted he might be—to get employment in any of the departments of the government¹. No one could follow a profession except that of his ancestors², and no one could aspire for a rank higher than that in which he was born³.

The law of Islam did away with all these discriminations and rendered all distinctions between man and man invalid⁴. It proclaimed that there was no virtue except in good deeds, and no nobility except in piety (*ittiqā*). This occasioned, as Sayed Kotb remarks, “a revolution in human thinking.”⁵

Discriminations in the legal systems of the Middle Ages

The Roman and the Sassanid laws were essentially laws of discriminations. Both in the civil and the criminal spheres, distinctions were made between different sections of the population on various grounds.

A man's legal personality in Roman Law was determined with reference to (a) birth, (b) age, (c) health, (d) sex, (e) reputation, (f) religion and (g) domicile⁶. The legal position of women was inferior to that of men. Women could not adopt, could not exercise the calling of a banker, and were explicitly excluded from all civil or public functions⁷. If a woman stood as a security for another person, even for her husband or son or father, so as to make her liable for them, the obligation was invalid⁸. Religious orthodoxy was the test of personality. Only Catholic Christians were in full possession of civil rights. Pagans were not considered capable of owning things movable or immovable, which consequently lapsed to the public treasury.⁹ Intermarriages between Jews and Christians were not only forbidden but were punishable as adulterous.¹⁰ The testimony of Jews and of heretics

1. *L'Iran Sous Les Sassanides*, p. 422.

2. *Ibid*, p. 22.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 418-419.

4. *Quran*, S. XLIX: 13.

5. *Al-'Adalah al-Ijtima yah fi al-Islam*, by Sayed Kotb, translated into English by John B. Hardie: *Social Justice in Islam* (Washington 1953) p. 46 *et seq.*

6. *The History and Principles of the Civil Law of Rome*, Sheldon Amos, p. 106.

7. Sheldon Amos, p. 110.

8. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 94.

9. *The History and Principles of the Civil Law of Rome*, p. 114.

10. Sheldon Amos, p. 115.

was equally excluded as against orthodox Christians¹. Heretics and Jews were not considered good witnesses². Jews were disqualified to hold any office or honour³. With respect to Donatists and Manichaeans it was laid down that "this sort of men have neither by law nor custom anything in common with others."⁴ They could acquire property neither by gift nor succession. They could make no will and their children could enter into their inheritance only if they abandoned their father's heresy⁵.

A few institutions peculiar to Roman Law—the *Patria Potestas* and the *Manus*—further curtailed individual liberty. The *Patria Potestas* gave absolute power to fathers over their children. "This fatherly power endured irrespectively of the age or social or political position of his sons and daughters⁶." The father could expose the child to perish of cold and hunger⁷. A son, even though of full age, married and with children, could not own any property unless emancipated by his father. He could sue and be sued only in his father's name⁸. In the same way a woman, when married, passed into the *manus* of her husband and occupied the position of a daughter⁹.

Apart from these discriminations in the civil and personal laws of the Romans, there were grave and serious discriminations in the criminal law as well. Punishments were not uniform for all persons. Justinian's *Digest* recognized three classes of persons—*honestiores*, *humiliores* and *servi*. The *honestiores* class which comprised Senators, their descendants, knights, soldiers etc. was not ordinarily liable to the penalty of death, nor could it be condemned to the mines or compulsory labour. The *humiliores* were punished for grave offences by death, but more frequently the punishment given to them was condemnation to the mines and public beating. The third class comprised slaves who were punished for crimes of a serious nature by beheading, burning or exposure to wild beasts; for lesser crimes they were flogged and compelled to work in the mines. Laws of Constantine and Arcadius, retained by Justinian, directed that any servant (*familiaris*) or slave bringing an accusation against his master should at once be put to death without any inquiry into the case or production of witnesses¹⁰.

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1. Sheldon Amos, p. 115.
 2. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 108.
 3. Sheldon Amos, p. 115.
 4. Sheldon Amos, p. 115.
 5. Sheldon Amos, p. 115.
 6. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 66.
 7. *Roman Private Law*, R.E. Leage, p. 90.
 8. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 66.
 9. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 71.
 10. *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 103.

The Sassanid law made discriminations on grounds of (a) birth, (b) property, (c) religion and (d) sex. A. Christensen very correctly observes that the entire Sassanid legal system was designed to protect and maintain the distinctions in society based on considerations of birth and property¹.

There were seven old families in Iran and all important government offices were distributed among them on a hereditary basis. One family controlled the finances, another the army, another home affairs and so on.² No low born person, however gifted, could be entrusted with any government work³. The property of the high born people was protected by law⁴. No low born person could purchase the property of a high born person. The names of the distinguished families were recorded in government registers and it was the duty of the government to safeguard their rights and distinctive position in society⁵.

The peasants had no protection whatsoever in the Sassanid law⁶. The State did not take any notice of their misery. They were subjected to forced labour. The landlords considered themselves masters of their lives⁷.

Punishments were severe and indiscriminate under the Sassanid law. Sometimes a whole family was executed for one man's crime⁸.

Women had no status in Sassanid law⁹. Man could, however, invest them with legal status¹⁰. A man's wife and his slave were treated as equal in the eyes of the law¹¹ and the wife could be transferred to another person¹². Women could not be adopted in more than one family¹³, while men could be adopted in many¹⁴. Wives were classified into two categories: (1) *zan-i-pazshaheha* and (2) *zan-i-chigariha*¹⁵. The *zan-i-pazshaheha* enjoyed more rights and privileges than those belonging to the second category.

1. *L'Iran Sous Les Sassanides*, p. 444.

2. *Ibid*, p. 137.

3. *Ibid*, p. 422.

4. *Ibid*, p. 419.

5. *Ibid*, p. 420.

6. *Ibid*, p. 424.

7. *Ibid*, p. 424.

8. *Ibid*, p. 402.

9. *Ibid*, p. 437.

10. *Ibid*, p. 434.

11. *Ibid*, p. 437.

12. *Ibid*, p. 437.

13. *Ibid*, p. 440.

14. *Ibid*, p. 440.

15. *Ibid*, p. 427.

They and their sons got equal shares in the property. An unmarried daughter got only one half. Women belonging to the second category as well as their children got nothing at all¹.

The differentia of Islam

In a world thus torn by almost insuperable barriers of caste, colour, birth and creed, the *shari'at* of Islam sought to create a classless society. All those discriminations which had been the bane of the Roman and the Sassanid society were brushed aside. The Prophet declared: "I have been sent to perfect the morality of mankind" (بعثت ه تم مكارم الاخلاق) and the basis of the new morality was the concept of human equality.

The *shari'at* recognises no distinction artificially created by birth, status, education, wealth, race, nationality or even religion for the matter of that. All free born men are declared equal in the eyes of the law. Even the rights of slaves are recognised and enforced by law. Only four discriminations are, however, permitted on grounds of sex: (1) A daughter gets half the share to which her brother is entitled. (2) The evidence of two women is treated as equal to the evidence of one man. (3) While the husband can divorce his wife by a unilateral act, the wife has to go to the law court for the dissolution of her marriage tie. (4) A woman is allowed no share in *vila* (heritage of a freed slave).

Some of these discriminations, however, cease to be so, when the family law of Islam is clearly understood. Marriage, according to Muhammadan Law, is a civil contract. The wife, at the time of her marriage, is at liberty to get the husband's right to divorce delegated to her on stated conditions, and thus secure equality of divorce with her husband. From the inequality of shares in the property it should not be inferred that the rule assumes the superiority of males over females. The *Quran* clearly declares:

"Men shall have a portion of what their parents and their near relatives leave; and women shall have a portion of what their parents and their near relatives leave."²

The share of the daughter is lesser not on account of any inferiority inherent in her, but in view of her better economic position (the dower-money; the husband's responsibility to maintain his wife and consequent economic freedom).

In criminal law also—unlike the Romans—no distinction of any sort was made between one man and another, not even on grounds of religion.

1. *L'Iran Sous Les Sassanides*, p. 441.

2. *Quran*, S. IV:7.

The Caliph 'Ali is reported to have declared: "The blood of the *zimmi* is like the blood of the Muslim."¹

Slavery

Slavery is one of the most important institutions of the middle ages and the attitude of the different legal systems towards it deserves to be noted.

According to the Roman Law a slave was a *res* or chattel without legal or property rights². He could be killed or tortured at his master's caprice; he could own no property, nor could he be regarded as capable of entering into any contract³. He had no *locus standi* in a court of law. His master was responsible for him as he was for any other domestic animal he kept⁴. Manumitted slaves retained traces of their former servile condition. A long and complicated procedure was prescribed for manumission. The property of an informally emancipated slave passed to his former master as a slave's *peculium*⁵. The freed man continued to be under limited control of his former master or his children. "A patron could claim respect (*obsequium*), services and succession to some or all of his property at death if he had no children as heirs⁶." If guilty of insolence or ingratitude he was remanded to his patron's power.

The serfs, though free in some respects, were no better than slaves. They and their descendants were inseparably attached to the soil. They were part of its permanent stock. If a serf left the estate, he could be reclaimed by his master as if he was a runaway slave. If he married a free-woman he was liable by statute to be kept in chains and flogged on that score. He could sell the surplus produce of his farm, and his savings, called his *peculium*, were in a way his property but inalienable for all practical purposes. If he died childless, his property passed to his lord. A serf could not sue his lord in the law court except when the lord attempted to increase the rent⁷. Thus it was difficult for a serf to improve his status⁸.

Slavery was tolerated by Islam because it was so interwoven with the economic system of the middle ages that it was not possible to dispense

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1. *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 268.
'Umar, the Great, instructed his governors: "Treat *all* men justly and on equal footing when they appear before you in the court." *Al-Faruq*, II, p. 49.
 2. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 62, Leage, p. 60.
 3. *Roman Private Law*, p. 60.
 4. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 631
 5. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 63.
 6. *Ibid*, p. 64.
 7. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 65.
 8. *Ibid*, p. 66.

Equally distressing were the conditions in Sassanid Persia. The peasants were subjected to forced labour¹ and the artisans and craftsmen were hated on religious grounds².

Economic aspect of the Islamic Revolution

Islam revolutionized the lives of the people in the middle ages by discouraging involuntary and *slave labour* and substituting it by *free labour*. The Prophet firmly opposed the practice of putting a labourer to work without settling beforehand his wages or the terms of his labour³. He exhorted his people to "pay the labourer's wages before his sweat gets dried."⁴

Now, slave labour means restricted internal market, lack of incentive for the worker, stagnation of economic relations and technical retardation. By substituting *free labour* for *slave labour*, Islam opened enormous possibilities for the development of technique and progress in art and industries.

The position of workers underwent a great change in Islamic lands. In the Roman world as well as in all other lands of antique civilization, the ruling classes hated all *productive labour* and looked upon industry and trade as highly undignified. Plato pictures a Utopian community in his *Republic* and divides it into three sharply differentiated classes, endowing each with some imaginary 'metallic' quality—such as Guardians with a golden cast of mind to govern; auxiliaries with an admixture of silver to fight; and finally workers sharing in the base metals to do the work of society and obey. Aristotle writes: "The best form of State will not admit them (the artisans) to citizenship."⁵ He, therefore, advises people: "certainly the good man...and the good citizen ought not to learn the crafts of the inferiors except for their own occasional use; if they habitually practise them, there will cease to be distinction between master and slave."⁶

The Prophet of Islam declared that those who earned their bread with the sweat of their brow were loved by God (الكاسب حبيب الله) and unequivocally condemned the parasites. Medina, under him, became a working class republic in which the enslaved and the much despised worker was

1. A. Christensen, p. 424.

2. As the Zoroastrians worshipped the elements of nature, they did not like anybody to mix dirt in water and prepare pots. They did not like even to wash hands and feet with it. A. Christensen, p. 189.

3 and 4. *Sunan al-Kubra*, Baihaqi, Chapter on *Ijara*, pp. 12-73. See also Bukhari's Chapter on *Ijara*.

5. *Politics*, III, p. 31278 as quoted by F.W. Walbank, *The decline of the Roman Empire in the West*, p. 24.

6. As cited by Walbank, p. 25.

Cicero considered traders and manual workers as *base, menial, contemptible, degrading*.

enfranchised and elevated. It provided a unique incentive to the workers and the artisans set to improve the technique of their trades and develop their industries. Production increased and the need for larger and better markets was felt. The entire Islamic world was now one huge market for the merchants. The taxes were lighter and there was more security of life and property in Islamic lands than in the Roman or the Sassanid realms.

The northern routes of trade with China, which passed through Constantinople to Italy and other countries of western Europe, had become extremely risky and unsafe owing to the Scythian inroads and the ruinous fiscal policy of the Byzantine Empire. After their conquest of Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and the territories across the Oxus, the Arabs captured the Chinese trade and diverted it to pass through their territories in North Africa and Spain, which connected it with the markets of Western Europe.

Between the 8th and the 11th centuries the entire trade between India and China on the one hand and Europe on the other was in the hands of the Arabs. The enfranchisement of the workers and the artisans was ultimately responsible for this feverish economic activity all over the Islamic world.

Urban Character of the Islamic Revolution

The fact also deserves to be noted that the Islamic Revolution was essentially urban in character. To say that Islam was planned exclusively as a city-creed would be incorrect. Nevertheless there is no denying the fact that it unfolded itself in urban environments. It was only in the cities that institutions, such as the Friday mosque, the school and the *khanqah*—by which the faith gained solidarity and oneness—could flourish. The Quranic laws about family, inheritance, etc., could only be enforced in the cities. There is much truth in Von Grunebaum's remark: "The legislation of the *Quran* envisages city life¹." The nomad Bedouins could not possibly be the woof and warp of Islamic society²

1. *Medieval Islam*, Von Grunebaum, p. 173.

2. The *Quran* views the nomad Bedouins with distrust and says of them as 'strong in unbelief and in hypocrisy and more apt not to know the limits of what Allah hath sent down to his Messenger'. (9:98)

Ibn-i Khaldun praises the military virtues of the Bedouins, but declares that no state can achieve continuity on desert life. The lack of restraint and discipline that go with nomadism are hostile to progress of any sort. The Bedouin will oppress the settled population to such a degree as to ruin them economically, break up their social order and bring about the fall of civilization. Ibn-i Khaldun therefore says that stable political forces must centre on cities. See, *Muqaddamah* (Urdu Translation, 1904, Lahore) Vol. 1 pp. 178—197.

A stable social life was possible in the cities alone and it is not for nothing that in Arabic the same root-word is used for 'city' and 'civilization' (*tamaddun madanivat*)¹. Besides, Muslim historians have named, and probably not unconsciously, most of the states after their capitals—e.g. the *Caliphate of Baghdad*, the *Sultanate of Delhi*, etc.

1. *Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's History of India* Vol. II : p. 4-5.

SECTION TWO

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF ISLAM

The Battle of Badr (624 A.D.) marks the turning point in the history of Islam. "Hitherto it had been a religion within a state; in al-Madinah, after Badr, it passed into something more than a state-religion—it itself became the state¹." The history of the political structure of Islam, its system of government, laws and institutions, virtually starts from that date.

The Prophet's political task was, by no means, easy. The Arabian society was at a primitive communistic level. The tribes were held together *externally* by the need for self-defence and *internally* by the blood tie of descent. They were obliged to work in common if they preferred not to die of starvation or fall victim to beasts of prey. Labour in common thus led to their joint ownership of the means of production as also the fruits of their productive efforts.

Out of this crude society the Prophet evolved the political structure of Islam and established a *working class republic* in Medina based on the two revolutionary concepts already explained in the preceding section. Dr. Mohd. Iqbal writes: "The essence of *Tauhid* as a working idea, is equality, solidarity and freedom. *The state, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavour to transform these principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realize them in definite human organization*²." The Republic of Medina translated those principles into practice. All matters were decided after open deliberations and free consultations in which every one, irrespective of his status, could participate. In these councils the Prophet's word had no decisive power, except when he spoke on Divine Authority. There was no governing class then and no subject people. All kinds of discriminations were eliminated. Faith replaced blood as the social bond and the tribe—the dominating factor of Arab heathenism—gave way to the newly born sense of religious unity. On being asked about his family, Salman al-Farisi, a companion of the Prophet, replied: "*Salman bin Islam*."³ Nothing illustrates better the spirit of the new republic than this reply of Salman.

1. *History of the Arabs*, P. K. Hitti, p. 117. See also *Muhammad at Medina*, W. M. Watt, Chapter VII, pp. 221-260.

2. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 154.

3. *Tazkirah*, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, p. 25.

For Salman, G. Levi Della Vida's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 116-117.

Jointly with his band of devoted followers, the Prophet built up, during the last ten years of his life, a state with its own system of government, laws and institutions, centred in Medina and firmly controlling the Hejaz, parts of Nejd and exercising loose authority over other parts of Arabia.

When the Prophet died (632 A.D.) the Mussalmans found themselves face to face with a difficult problem. The Prophet had given no directions about the choice of his successor. The *Quran* was silent about this beyond making two broad observations—"Decide your matters by consultation¹," and "Obey God, obey the Prophet and obey those with authority amongst you²." Acting upon these broad directions and guided, of course, by the tribal traditions, the Quresh of Medina elected Abu Bakr as their Khalifa³. Abu Bakr (ob. 634 A.D.) nominated 'Umar as his successor, while 'Umar in his turn, entrusted the task to a tribunal of six and 'Usman was selected by them. A tendency towards narrowing down the number of electors was, thus, gradually taking shape. This was, to a large extent, due to the circumstances. Abu Bakr had to face many centrifugal tendencies in the religious as well as the political sphere. Soon after the death of the Prophet, a number of Arabian tribes shook off their allegiance to Islam and went back to their ancestral beliefs; some of them refused to pay the *zakat* and very soon false prophets appeared. In order to preserve the structure of Islam from dissolution at the hands of these fissiparous tendencies, it was necessary to nominate a successor and avoid contest for *khilafat*. During the time of 'Umar, the realms of Islam consisted of various linguistic areas divided into racial groups with conflicting traditions. How was the vast multitude of people, inside and outside Arabia, to elect a Khalifa? The early traditions could work well in a city-state, but they could not be applied to a territorial state where medieval conditions of transport and communication rendered it impossible to hold an election on a large scale. 'Umar therefore entrusted the task of nominating his successor to an electoral college. This was a device to harmonize the spirit of Islam with the exigencies of the time and the requirements of the age. Whatever the difficulties, the semblance of election was retained all through and after selecting a *khalifah*, the people were required to endorse the selection by having *bay'at* at his hands or that of governors appointed by him.

1. *Quran* S. XLII: 38; S. III: 159.

2. *Quran* S. V: 59.

3. For a detailed study of the circumstances in which the institution of *Khilafat* was born and the part it played in the political-life of the Mussalmans in subsequent centuries, see *Izalat-u'l-Khifa* by Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi. Among modern works Arnold's *Caliphate* and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's *Masa'la-i-Khilafat-aur-Jazirah-i-'Arab* supply valuable information on the subject. See also S. M. Yusuf's article: "The Choice of a Caliph in Islam—A study in Early Conventions." (*Islamic Culture*, October, 1943, pp. 378-396.)

The Caliph 'Umar was, rightly observes Amir Ali, the practical founder of the political administration of Islam¹. He was anxious to see the city-state of Medina develop into a universal state on purely Islamic lines. But, as soon as a city state develops into a universal state, the rise of an aristocracy becomes rather inevitable. 'Umar adopted some very bold measures to prevent it. It was, no doubt, a revolutionary task in the context of the tendencies rife in the middle ages. His political wisdom soon discovered that such an aristocracy could arise either from the Quresh tribe (the Hashimites and the Umayyads) or from the military leaders or from the governors of various provinces. His attitude towards them was determined by his desire to prevent them from developing into a permanent governing class. He did not allow the Arabs to occupy the conquered lands², for it might lead to the rise of a feudal aristocracy³. He excluded Hashimites from appointment to government offices, for it would have made them immensely rich and powerful⁴. He kept a strict control over provincial governors and never allowed them to amass wealth. Every governor had to submit a list of his property before taking charge of his office, and his property was checked with this list on his retirement⁵. The governors were called to Mecca every year at the time of Hajj and complaints were heard against them⁶. No governor was allowed to remain at one place for a long period⁷. His dealings with Amir Muawiyah, Amr bin 'As and Mughira bin Shu'ba—the three talented persons about whom he thought they would consolidate their power and develop aristocratic ways—illustrate his attitude to such high placed officers. He used their talent but never allowed them any opportunity to grow powerful⁸. Khalid, the talented general whose exploits were universally applauded, was dismissed by him when at the height of his glory and 'Umar wrote to all districts:

I have not dismissed Khalid on account of any displeasure or any charge of malversation; he has been removed because people are getting attracted towards him; lest they place confidence in him.⁹

1. *Short History of the Saracens*, p. 60.

2. *Al-Faruq*, Maulana Shibli, Vol. II p. 41 *et seq.*

3. The annulment of this order during the *khilafat* of 'Usman was, therefore, naturally followed by the rise of a feudal aristocracy.

4. *Al-Faruq*, Vol. II p. 194.

5. *Al-Faruq*, Vol. II p. 31.

6. *Al-Faruq*, Vol. II pp. 32-37.

7. *Al-Faruq*, p. 186. The activities of the governors were closely watched and reported by Muhammad bin Muslamat Ansari who was a man of great honesty and integrity of character (*Al-Faruq*, p. 34.)

8. *Al-Faruq*, Vol. II p. 186.

9. Tabari, p. 2528, as cited in *Al-Faruq*, Vol. II p. 187.

Besides, 'Umar placed an interdict on Arabs being made slaves. This step also went a long way in checking the growth of a ruling class.

"It is doubtful", observes Von Kremer, "whether 'Umar could have long kept this system of government intact. Had all the Arabs been as unselfish as he, had all been fired by the same religious fervour as he, he might possibly have succeeded. But he did not reckon with one of the most powerful springs of human action—personal interest¹."

Caliph 'Usman who succeeded 'Umar was a weak and mild man. He belonged to the Umayyad branch of the Quresh tribe—a group that hungered after power. During his *khilafat* the rise of an aristocracy could not be long prevented. The Umayyads migrated to the provinces, consolidated their power there and carved out estates for themselves. Muawiyah, the governor of Syria, wrote to the Caliph to grant him unappropriated lands in Syria and the Caliph consented. Thus the seed for the rise of a feudal aristocracy was sown².

With the murder of 'Usman, a civil war became unavoidable. 'Usman's mildness had excited the cupidity of all factions and groups and every one was anxious to establish his own hegemony. The issue as to which tribe will constitute the ruling class in future had to be decided and a civil war alone could decide it. Three persons swore to kill at one time 'Ali at Kufa, Muawiyah at Damascus and Amr ibn As at the old Cairo of them. Only 'Ali was fatally wounded.

The 'Alids were defeated in the struggle. Finding the outer world in the hands of their rivals, with whom they could never compromise on account of their firm faith in '*Legitimacy*', and failing to establish in the external, tangible world their political supremacy, they elaborated an inner order of spiritual succession and developed quaint theories about *Imamat*, the spiritual authority of the Imam, his secret succession and finally the emergence of a *Mehdi* who would deliver and set all things aright. Though the Fatimids and the Imams of Alamut appeared long afterwards, intellectually ground was prepared for the same in the first century of Islam.

The Mussalmans accepted the Umayyad rule. For what else could they do? Some sort of government was essential to preserve the new community. The civil wars had already sapped the solidarity of the Muslims

1. *Politics in Islam*, p. 26.

2. Talha had purchased the estate of Nashtasag in Kufa during the time of 'Umar. 'Umar annulled the transaction, but 'Usman sanctioned it.

and further dissensions would have spelled ruin to the Muslim social and political life.

With the rise of the Umayyads, the political spirit of Islam underwent a radical change. Amir Muawiyah changed the *Khilafat* into monarchy¹. He nominated his son, Yazid, as his successor. It then became a convention among the Caliphs, as amongst the Sultans later, to nominate their successor and have his nomination accepted by the leading officers of the State.

Amir Muawiyah organized the Umayyads into a governing class. 'Umar's life-work was undone. But with the developments that were taking place in the political life of the Mussalmans, it had become almost inevitable. An empire without an aristocracy or a governing class, was an anomaly in the medieval context of things.

During the time of Walid (705-715 A.D.) this Arab aristocracy fully benefited from the wars that were being continuously waged. The Umayyads appropriated big estates and converted them from *Kharaji* to '*Ushri* lands. This meant great loss to the exchequer. In the interest of the governing class the practice had to be continued and the financial requirements met by further exploiting the non-Arabs. Taxes not sanctioned by Islam were imposed upon the people². The fact that many complaints of forceful possession by the strong were brought before 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz shows that the process of acquiring land was not fair in all cases. 'Umar II himself declared that more than half the wealth was in the hands of Banu Marwan and that most of it was acquired through means not permitted by the *Shari'at*.

When these lands were exhausted, Abdul Malik and Walid permitted the Mussalmans to purchase lands from the subject races. The purchase money went into the treasury in payment of the arrears of the land tax. The land tax henceforward disappeared and in its place '*Ushr* was substituted. The Umayyad aristocracy was now a full-fledged exploiting class. The vast non-Arab population deeply resented this state of affairs.

The discontent against this attitude of the Umayyads was expressed in the *Qadarite* metaphysics, in the *Kharajite*³ revolts and in the *Mawali* agitation. Discussing the significance of the Kharajite revolts, Hurgronje observes: "Their anarchistic revolutions, which during more than a century

1. Sai'd ibn Mus'yab said: "May God retaliate upon Muawiyah for he was the first who converted this thing (the rule over the faithful) into a *mulk*." *Essays: Indian and Islamic*, Khuda Bakhsh, p. 29.

2. For details about the taxation system at this time, see, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, by Frede Lokkegard (Copenhagen 1950).

3. For *Qadarites* and *Kharajites*, see *infra*, Section IV.

occasionally gave much trouble to the *Khilafat* caused Islam to accentuate the aristocratic character of its monarchy.”¹

The Umayyad Empire fell when it had exhausted all possibilities of further exploitation. Racial discriminations, class interests, aristocratic ways and luxurious tastes weakened the moral basis of the Umayyad dynasty which disappeared in the terrible blood bath of 750 A.D.

With the advent of the Abbasids, the era of expansion came to an end and the age of the consolidation of realms and the integration of ideas began. While the Umayyad Empire was essentially an Arab Empire, the Abbasid Caliphate was an empire of the non-Arabs in which the Arabs were only one of the many component races. This was the source of their strength as well as their weakness. So long as these elements worked harmoniously everything went on well. The moment tribal instincts, racial considerations or local jealousies gained an upper hand, the Abbasid polity began to disintegrate and decompose. It was the Persianized Arab culture which had held these elements together but once that cultural hold was weakened, the parts fell apart.

Under the early Abbasids, the Persians—of whom the Barmakids are a typical illustration—constituted the governing class. With change in political conditions this governing class was later replaced by the *Turks* who monopolized all political power and laid the foundations of the *Turko-Persian Empires*, which played a very important part in the history of medieval ‘Ajam.

The Abbasid Caliphs ruled over a vast empire extending from the shores of the eastern Mediterranean to the frontiers of China, but the Caliphate was not coterminous with Islam. Political unity, which was the deepest longing of Muslim political consciousness, was utterly destroyed.² Spain, North Africa, Uman and Sind did not acknowledge the Abbasid Caliphs. Within the Abbasid Caliphate, however, the provinces formed more or less a loose confederation. The central authority dealt with them not through departmental ministries, but every province had its own board (*diwan*) in Baghdad which managed its affairs.

The great Abbasid Caliphs from Mansur to Mutawakkil (754-861 A.D.) were endowed with great administrative capacity. They ruled over an

1. *Muhammedanism*: (Lectures on its origin, its religious and political growth and its present state), by G. Snouch Hurgronje (London, 1916) p. 99.

2. In 755-6 A.D. a member of the Umayyad dynasty made himself independent master of Spain. In 788-9 a descendant of ‘Ali, named Idris, established a dynasty in Morocco which lasted till 975. About the same time Ibrahim b. Aghlab became independent in Tunis. Egypt was lost to the Empire in 868 when Ahmad b. Tulun, the governor, cast off the yoke of the Abbasids. The Tulunids were supplanted about 935 by the Ikhshids and the Ikhshids were succeeded in 969 by the Fatimids who had established their power in North Africa in the middle of the third century A.H.

extensive empire with great tact, courage and firmness. After them disintegration set in. The tribes which had constituted the Muslim soldiery settled in the luxurious estates, and city life developed rapidly. The army became indifferent to active life. The military spirit of the Arabs (both in town and country) almost disappeared. Foreign mercenaries were consequently recruited in large numbers. At the beginning of the 10th century, a general considered troops coming from Baghdad as unfit for a strenuous campaign on the ground that "they were accustomed to houses on the Tigris, to wine, to ice, to wet felt and female musicians¹."

With the decay of the Arab national life, the forces of social and moral disintegration gathered momentum. Exploitation and overtaxation became rampant². Heavy taxation drove the merchants out of Baghdad.³ Discontent grew apace. Baghdad was reduced to such a position that in 942 A.D. Ibn Hamdi, the chief of a robber band, plundered the town under the protection of Ibn Shirzad, who, as Secretary to the Turkish Commander-in-Chief stood at the head of the government. The government itself, in its eagerness to remove discontent, resorted to methods that were strange and incredible. In 972 A.D. a large conflagration—caused by the connivance of the government itself—reduced 300 shops and 33 mosques to ashes and played havoc on 17,000 lives. Insecurity increased to such an extent that robbers climbed into the house of a *qazi* in broad day light. The result was that during the 10th century many minor dynasties rose in 'Ajam. These states formally acknowledged the Caliph, but were, for all practical purposes, independent in their own kingdoms and carried on government without any reference to the Caliph.

The most important of these dynasties were the following:

- (1) The Tahirids (820-872)
- (2) The Saffarids (863-903)
- (3) The Samanids (874-999)
- (4) The Buwayhids (945-1055)

These minor dynasties developed their own political institutions and ideas and gave to 'Ajam, what it needed most, a stable government which could guarantee peace and encourage trade and industries. Then appeared the Turko-Persian Empires—the Ghaznavid Empire (999-1040), the Seljuq Empire (1037-1157), and the Khwarizmian Empire (1157-1231).

1. *The Renaissance of Islam*, Mez, p. 280-81.
2. *History of the Arabs*, Hitti, p. 484.
3. *The Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 6-7.
4. *The Renaissance of Islam*, pp. 6-7.

The role of these dynasties can be appreciated only if the general economic condition of 'Ajam is borne in mind.

Apart from Fars¹ and the South Caspian provinces, the vast area of 'Ajam is useless for agriculture. There is no rainfall and agriculture depends on artificial irrigation². So far as the Turkish lands were concerned, there were a number of rivers—Marwarud, Oxus, Jaxartes, Zarafshan, etc. These rivers were the source of extensive canal system³. Where water was available, soil being fertile, agriculture flourished, but where there was no water, the Turkish tribes wandered over the steppe grazing their flocks of sheep and goats on the sparse vegetation. A large part of 'Ajam's population lived by cattle-breeding. Agriculture as an art was unknown⁴.

The Minor Dynasties as well as the Turko-Persian Empires made extensive trade possible by enfranchising the city labourer and establishing security of the roads. The Seljuqian Empire's great achievement in the eyes of Ibn-i-Khallikan was: "all the roads were safe—safe for travellers and caravans, from Transoxiana to Syria⁵." These peaceful conditions led to amazing economic development. Trade reacted on industries and the great cities of 'Ajam once again thrived and prospered. These new states had full support of the working classes. The trader wanted peace and security and in return for it he placed the surplus value at the disposal of the builders of these states.

The Tahirid dynasty was founded by Tahir bin Husain of Khurasan, a trusted general of Mamun (813-833), and descendant of a Persian slave. The Tahirids remained, on the whole, loyal supporters of the Abbasid Caliphate⁶. They enjoyed peacefully the government of the richest province of the Caliphate and regularly paid tribute to the central government. The Tahirids were anxious to act according to the Islamic laws⁷. 'Abdullah bin Tahir protected the interests of the peasants⁸ and introduced free

1. *Hududal-'Alam*, p. 126.

2. *Iran*, Barthold, p. 51.

3. Barthold has made a masterly study of this aspect of Turkish history in his Russian work: *Notes on the History of the Irrigation in Turkistan*.

4. See Prof. Habib's *Introduction* to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 16-17.

5. *Ibn-i-Khallikan*, Vol. II, p. 587.

6. *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia*, Amir Hasan, p. 22.

7. 'Abdullah asked the jurists of Khurasan to work out, in collaboration with some *faqih*s from Iraq, the legal principles regarding the use of water. The 'Book of Canals' (*Kitab al-Quniy*) was the result of his efforts in that direction (*Turkestan*, Barthold p. 213).

8. He wrote to the officers; "God feeds us by their hands, welcomes us through their mouths and forbids their ill treatment." *Turkestan*, Barthold, p. 213.

universal education¹. Barthold rightly calls the epoch of the Tahirids as the epoch of "enlightened absolutism."² In 872 A.D. the Tahirids were superceded by the Saffarids.

The Saffarid dynasty, which reigned in Persia for 41 years, was founded by ya'qub bin Lais al-Saffar, a coppersmith by profession. He based his rights on the sword alone and consolidated his power and prestige with the help of a strong army. But he remained throughout his life a soldier of simple tastes and decided all matters personally. The Saffarids were the first in Persia to challenge the political supremacy of the Abbasids and reduce their temporal power to the minimum. Their names were included in the *Khutbah* and inscribed on the coins, while they did not pay regular tribute to Baghdad. The Samanids fell heir to a large portion of the Saffarid state.

The Samanid dynasty, founded by Nasr bin Ahmad, great-grandson of Saman, a Zoroastrian noble of Balkh, effected the final subjugation of Transoxiana to the Muslim rule. It is considered "one of the most enlightened of the Iranian dynasties."³ As most of the institutions of the Samanids were borrowed by the Ghaznavids and from them by the Ghurids and the Sultans of Delhi, their history deserves to be noticed in some detail.

The Samanids formed a powerful state in Transoxiana and carried on a determined struggle against the nomad tribes which continued to attack the fertile oases and towns of Central Asia. The establishment of peace led to considerable economic development. Maqdisi has given us a list of the exports of Transoxiana which shows that under the Samanids, Tirmiz, Bukhara, Karminiya, Rabinjan, Khorezmia, Bulghar, Samarqand, Dizak, Banakath, Shash, Farghana, Isfijab were important centres of trade. Soap, saddles, tents, hides, coloured fabrics, etc. were exported from these places. Silk and cotton fabrics of the valley of Zarafshan and the metal articles of Farghana were reputed throughout the Muslim world. Paper manufactured in Samarqand replaced papyrus and parchment in Muslim countries⁴. There were no burdensome taxes, a fact which greatly encouraged industry⁵. Favourable economic conditions enhanced cultural glory of the Samanids and Bukhara and Samarqand soon eclipsed Baghdad as centres of learning and art.

1. He said: 'Knowledge must be accessible to the worthy and unworthy; knowledge will look after itself and not remain with the unworthy.' *Turkestan*, Barthold, p. 213.

2. *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Barthold p. 70.

3. *History of the Arabs*, Hitti, p. 463.

4. *Turkestan*, p. 237.

5. *Turkestan*, p. 238.

The Samanid administrative system was highly efficient and extremely well-organized. The Samanid ruler was an enlightened despot, but he was answerable to God alone. In the eyes of the Baghdad government he was an *Amir* or client of the Khalifah, but, actually, he was free of all control. The Samanids, however, remained loyal to the authority of the Caliphate and did not oppose it even when their own rights were infringed¹.

What strengthened the hands and the position of the Samanid kings was their slave household. It served as the "most effective social and military instrument for the maintenance of their authority."² The Turkish slaves of the Samanids were put through a long and minutely graded probation. Nizam-ul Mulk thus describes the career of a Turkish slave at the Samanid court:

They advanced slaves gradually, taking account of their services, their courage and their merit. Thus a slave who had just been purchased served one year on foot. Clothed in a cotton tunic he walked beside the stirrup of his chief; they did not have him mount on horseback either in public or in private and he would be punished if it were learnt that he had done so. When his first year of service was ended the head of the Chamber informed the Chamberlain and the latter gave the slave a Turkish horse which had only a rope in its mouth, a bridle and a halter in one. When he had served one year on horseback, whip in hand he was given a leather girth to put about the horse. The fifth year they gave him a better saddle, a bridle ornamented with stars, a tunic of cotton mixed with silk and a mace which he suspended by a ring from his saddle bow. In the sixth year he received a garment of a more splendid colour and in his seventh year they gave him a tent held up by a pole and fixed by sixteen pegs; he had three slaves in his suite and he was honoured with the title of a head of the Chamber; he wore on his head a hat of black felt embroidered with silver and he was clothed with a silk robe. Every year he was advanced in place and dignity, his retinue and escort were increased until the time when he reached the rank of chief of squadron and finally that of a Chamberlain. Though his capacity and merit might be recognised, though he had done some noteworthy deed and acquired universal esteem and the affection of his sovereign, he was obliged nevertheless to wait until the age of thirty five years before obtaining the title of Amir and a government³.

At the head of the whole court establishment was the *Hajib-i-Buzurg*. The second office of importance was that of the *Amir-i-Haras* (captain of the watch). All the offices of the *dargah* (Palace) were assigned to the Turkish slaves. Sometimes even governorships were conferred upon Turkish slaves as a reward for their meritorious services.

The following were the ten principal government offices at Bukhara:

1. Diwan of the Wazir
2. Diwan of the Mustaufi

1. *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia*, p. 45.

2. *The Imperial Slave Household*, S.A. Rashid, (*Islamic Literature*, Feb., 1950).

3. *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 74-75.

3. Diwan-i-'Amid-ul Mulk
4. Diwan-i-Sahib-i Shurat
5. Diwan-i-Mushrif
6. Diwan-i-Sahib-i Barid
7. Diwan of the private domains of the ruler
8. Diwan of the Muhtasib
9. Diwan of the Awqaf
10. Diwan of the Qazi

The wazir, called the *Khwajah-i-Buzurg*, stood at the head of the whole bureaucratic machinery. Nizam-ul—Mulk considered it desirable to have a hereditary wazir. During the Samanid period we come across dynasties of wazirs, like *Jayhani*, *Bal'ami* and *'Utbi*, though there is no evidence that a son ever succeeded his father in this office of distinction. The chief Qazi headed the judicial administration. In the provinces we find the same offices and departments as obtained in the capital. Under the Samanids and the Ghaznavids provincial officers were appointed by the sovereign himself. But later, as the power of the bureaucracy increased, the heads of the several departments came to appoint their substitutes in the provincial towns themselves.

Nizam-ul-Mulk informs us that the Samanids and the Ghaznavids paid their officials in cash and did not usually distribute *iqta's* to the army¹. This system "gave a better guarantee against illegal requisitions than did the system of military fiefs subsequently established."²

Disgruntled educated proletariat (*i.e.*, the representatives of the numerous official class who had failed to gain a position in the service of the state) and the turbulent military aristocracy paved the way for the disruption

1. Ibn-i Khallikan and Gardizi have preserved for us an account of the distribution of pay to the army under the Saffarid ruler, Amr. The '*Ariz* who distributed the pay took his seat in a place appointed for the ceremony, and on hearing the sound of two large drums the whole army assembled there. In front of the '*Ariz* lay sacks with money; the '*Ariz's* assistant had before him a list of the soldiers and read over the names. The first called was Amr himself; the '*Ariz* made a close inspection of his horse and equipment, then expressed his approval and gave him 300 *dirhams*. Amr placed the money in the leg of his boot and said: "God be praised, that He Hath permitted me to serve faithfully the Commander of the Faithful, and hath made me worthy of his favours." After this Amr took his seat on an eminence and watched the horsemen and infantry in turns present themselves before the '*Ariz*, undergo the same scrutiny and receive their money. Ibn-i Khallikan rightly points out the resemblance between the custom of Amr and the picture of the review of the armies of Sassanid Persia, under Khusrau Anushirvan. *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 221.

2. *Turkestan*, p. 239.

of the Samanid state. The place of the Samanids was taken by the Ghaznavids.

A new epoch begins in the history of Islam with the advent of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin (999-1030), who is reckoned as the first *Sultan* of 'Ajam. Thereafter the Empire (or *Sultanate*) became the administrative authority of 'Ajam, while the Abbasid Caliphate continued as a formal symbol till it was extinguished by Hulagu Khan in 1258 A.D. "The concept of the State", rightly observes Barthold, "was brought to its extreme expression under the Ghaznavids, and especially under Mahmud."¹

Throwing off the yoke of his Samanid overlords, Mahmud approached the Caliph with the request to grant him the patent of sovereignty and thus accord sanction to the rise of a new dynasty. The grant of *manshur* by the Caliph in 999 A.D. confirmed Mahmud in his newly acquired territories and re-established, though nominally, the religious and the political supremacy of the Caliphate, which had broken down at the end of the Samanid period. Still, Mahmud never cared for the Caliph's wishes when his own interests were involved. In 1012-13 he compelled the Caliph, Al-Qadir Billah, to hand over to him some districts of Khurasan and when the latter refused, Mahmud threatened the Caliph's ambassador in these words: "Do you wish me to come to the capital of the Caliphate with a thousand elephants in order to lay it waste and bring its earth on the backs of my elephants to Ghaznin?" On another occasion, when the Caliph demanded the execution of Hasnak, he assumed a definitely defiant attitude. But Mahmud fully realized the magnitude of the Caliph's moral prestige and, in spite of his quarrels, continued to humour and placate him. In law Mahmud was the lieutenant of the Caliph.

Like his former overlords, the Samanids, Mahmud also strutted as an absolute autocrat. He was '*the Shadow of God on earth*'. He had the supreme legislative, judicial and executive authority. Though the Wazir was officially responsible for the smooth running of the government machinery, the Sultan, nevertheless, personally supervised every department of government. He kept a vigilant eye on the military commanders of his empire, and personally directed foreign policy and supervised all correspondence. High appointments were all made by him and he was not bound to consult his ministers in state-affairs. When confronted with a serious problem, he sometimes summoned a council which was at best a deliberative body.

1. *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, p. 70.

The kingdom of Ghazna, being a dependency of Bukhara in its earlier days, was administered as a part of the Samanid empire. Sultan Mahmud continued the system of the Samanids and did not introduce any appreciable alterations. There were five *Diwans*:

1. *Diwan-i—Wazarat* (Finance Department)
2. *Diwan-i—‘Arz* (War Department)
3. *Diwan-i—Risalat* (Correspondence Department)
4. *Diwan-i—Shughl-i Ishraf-i-Mamlukat* (Secret Service Department)
5. *Diwan-i—Wikalat* (Household Department)¹

Every appointment in the state was just a matter of *contract*.¹ Before assuming charge every officer had to enter into a covenant with his royal master². The important offices in the state were not the monopoly of any particular class, but, actually, the Persians were in complete control of the civil administration of the empire. Thus a regular hierarchy of officials was established and one entering the service as a clerk could, in course of time, aspire to rise to the position of a wazir³.

The wazir was directly in charge of the finance department. He appointed the *‘amils* for different provinces who collected the state revenue. The *Mustaufi-i—Mamalik* (Accountant General) was responsible to the wazir and kept an account of all items of income and expenditure. He exercised a general supervision over all the departments of government.

The *Wizarat* under the early Ghaznavid rulers had some significant features. The nobles and the officials suggested a panel from which the Sultan selected one. The reasons for selection and rejection were, however, indicated⁴. “In the constitution where there was no organized public body this method of selection was probably the best one⁵.” Besides, great importance was attached to the office of the wazir. Khwaja Ahmad did not accept office until the Sultan had given him in writing a letter of appoint-

1. *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Muhammad Nazim, p. 130.

2. *Tarikh-i-‘Al-i-Subuktigin*, Baihaqi, p. 326; Nazim, p. 130.

3. *Tarikh-i-‘Al-i-Subuktigin*, p. 166 as cited by Nazim, p. 131.

4. Twice the opposition of the nobles led Mahmud to dismiss his ministers. The Sultan, therefore, asked them to propose the name of a person competent to be appointed a wazir. The nobles submitted a panel of four, out of which the Sultan might select one: Abul Qasim, Abul Hasan, Ahmad, and Hasnak. Mahmud told them that the services of Abul Qasim were too valuable in the military department; Abul Hasan lacked polished manners; Ahmad was indispensable in Khwarizm; and Hasnak was too young. (Vide, *Baihaqi*, pp. 453-4 and *Some Aspects of the Muslim Administration*, pp. 166-7.)

5. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, Tripathi, p. 171.

ment indicating the extent of his powers and the nature of the functions he was expected to perform¹.

The next important minister was the '*Ariz*, the head of the military department. The '*Ariz* reviewed the army, looked after the welfare of the soldiers and kept their muster-roll². In times of war he acted as the quarter-master general of the army.

The military service under the Sultan was highly organized. The Sultan was his own commander-in-chief. The next highest office under him was that of the commander of the troops of Khurasan. Besides this, every province had a commander of the local troops, who was usually a Turkoman³.

Every provincial army had its own '*Ariz*. Services in the army were carefully graded. The lowest officer was the *Khail-tash* (commander of 10 horses). Then came *Qaid*, *Sarhang*, *Hajib* etc. Every soldier was required to make his own commissariat arrangements.

The *Diwan-i Risalat* was placed under the charge of a tried and trusted servant of advanced age and ripe experience. Baihaqi was considered too young for this post at the age of 45⁴. The *Sahib-i—Diwan-i—Risalat* wrote letters to the Caliph and the princes on behalf of the Sultan. Confidential reports were also submitted by him. The *Diwan-i Risalat* had a numerous staff of *Dabirs*. Here also services followed gradations.

If the institutions of the Ghaznavids are studied as a whole, it would appear that they had been greatly influenced by the traditions of Baghdad and Bukhara. Almost all their chief officials, e.g., the *Mustaufi*, the *Mushrif*, and their principal departments, like the *Diwan-i—Mumalakat-i-Khas*, *Diwan-i Muhtasib*, *Diwan-i Auqaf* and *Diwan-i 'Arz*, were borrowed from the Samanids. In the days of the early Ghaznavids these institutions and officers came to the Punjab, then a part of the Ghaznavid Empire.

Mahmud's dominions included, besides northern India in the East and the Persian Iraq in the West, all Khurasan, Tukharistan with its centre Balkh, part of Transoxiana in the North and Sijistan in the South. But this vast empire was loosely held by mere force of arms, and as soon as the powerful hand of Sultan Mahmud was removed, the component parts began to fall away. The Khans of Turkestan, the Great Seljuqs of Persia and the Ghurids of Afghanistan knocked this vast empire to pieces. In 1186 Shihab-u'd-din

1. *Asar-ul—Wuzara*, as quoted by Tripathi, p. 172.

2. *Baihaqi*, p. 532.

3. *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Nazim, p. 141.

4. *Baihaqi*, pp. 629-808.

of Ghūr overthrew Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznavid rulers of the Punjab.

The Seljuqs who supplanted the Ghaznavids, established an Empire which extended from Kashghar to Jerusalem and from Constantinople to the Caspian Sea. This Empire was built on a tribal basis. The Persian conception of the monarch as the sole ruler of the state was foreign to the early Seljuqs, who looked upon the empire as the property of the whole family¹. Nothing illustrates better their attitude in this respect than the fact that in some cities of Khurasan the *Khutbah* was read in the name of Tughril and in others in the name of his brother, Da'ud². The same attitude towards kingship was probably responsible for the abolition of the espionage system and reduction in the position and powers of the *sahib-i-haras*³.

The system of military fiefs established in 1087 by Nizam-ul-Mulk, according to which grants for the first time came to be hereditary, led to the immediate establishment of semi-independent states and destroyed the compactness and solidarity of the Seljuq Empire. The separate sub-divisions attained virtual independence in different parts of the wide kingdom, while the main line—the Great Seljuqs of Persia—maintained only a nominal suzerainty down to 1157.

The Seljuq Empire at last succumbed to the attack of the Khwarizmian state. Sanjar (ob. 1157) was the last of the great Seljuqs. His early successes over Ghaznin, Samarqand and Ghur were followed by disastrous defeats which paralysed the entire structure of the Seljuq Empire. In 1137 the Qara-Khitai Turks invaded Samarqand and obtained a decisive victory over Sanjar's vassal. Five years later Sanjar himself suffered the greatest defeat of his life and escaped only with a few followers. The final disaster to his empire was the eruption of the Ghuzz Turks⁴ who captured him in 1153. He secured his release in 1157 but died soon after.⁵

The Khwarizmian dynasty was founded by Qutb-ud-din Muhammad, to whom the administration of the country was entrusted by Sultan Sanjar. His son and successor, Atsiz, was the real founder of Khwarizm's greatness. He was "cultured, learned, a poet and a fighter⁶." He rebelled against his

1. *Turkestan*, pp. 306-307.

2. *Ibn-i Asir*, IX, pp. 327-28 as cited by Barthold, p. 307.

3. *Turkestan*, p. 306.

4. The Arabic name for the Oghuz branch of the Turkish people. Their migration to Muslim territory began towards the end of the 10th century. See also W. Barthold's article on 'Ghuzz' in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 168-169.

5. For details see, *Turkestan*, Barthold, p. 329 *et seq.*

6. *Tarikh-i Jahan Gusha*, p. 3.

overlord Sanjar, who marched to Khwarizm and put his son Altigh to death. Atsiz fled, but submitted later. But, whenever he got an opportunity, he took to arms. His successor Il-Arsalan (1156-1172) did not like to approach the Caliph for the grant of any deed of investiture, but immediately secured it from Sultan Sanjar¹. The last Seljuq ruler of Persia, Tughril, fell in battle against Takash (the successor of Il-Arsalan) in 1194. The Khwarizm Shah could now regard himself as the successor of the Seljuq sultans in their dominions over Western Asia. The capital of Khwarizm was, in those days, one of the most splendid cities of the East. Barthold holds that the rise of Khwarizm to a first class power was due to the development of its wide trading connections.² Muhammad Khwarizm Shah's (1200-1220) attempt to utilise these commercial connections for his political advantage led to a war between him and Chengiz Khan, and ultimately to the fall of his empire.

Khwarizm Shah's struggle with the Ghuzz and the Qara-Khitai Turks provided an opportunity to the rulers of a small principality—Ghur—to extend their power.

The province of Ghur was bounded on its northern side by the hills of Gharjistan³, by the province of Herat in the west, by Garmsir and Nimruz in the South and by Kabul and Qandhar in the east. Minhaj speaks of its five big mountain chains which the people of Ghur thought to be the loftiest in the world⁴. The roads were usually blocked by snow in the winter season⁵. These geographical features were responsible for her political and cultural isolation from the rest of the world.

Ghur was conquered by the Arabs in the first century of Islam⁶. But it could not be retained by the Arab conquerors. Taking advantage of its geographical position, the rulers of this place often rebelled⁷ and never permanently submitted to the Muslim political power. As late as the 10th

1. *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia*, p. 152.

2. *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 909, Barthold's article on *Khwarizm*.

3. 'a province amid mountains and rugged country.' *Hudud al-'Alam*, p. 110.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 39.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 113.

6. Tabari (838-923 A.D.) writes in his account of the 47th year of *Hijra* that Hakam bin Amr waged war in the hilly regions of Ghur and conquered it by force of arms (vol. II, part I, p. 65. Urdu translation, Hyderabad). Ibn-i Asir's (1160-1234 A.D.) account shows that the campaign of the year 47 A.H. was due to the fact that the Ghurids had become *refractory* (Vol. III, p. 55, Hyderabad). Minhaj says that it was during the Caliphate of 'Ali that Ghur was conquered and converted to Islam (*Tabaqat-i Nasiri*, p. 29). Ferishtah says that it was in 31 A.H. that Ghur was conquered by 'Abdullah bin Amir during the caliphate of 'Usman. It is, however, certain that Ghur was attacked and conquered in the first century of Islam but due to its geographical position it did not remain under Muslim control.

7. In 107 A.H. again armies had to be sent to Ghur to reconquer the region. *Tabari*, Vol. II, part III, p. 127.

century and even afterwards when all the surrounding regions were Muslim, Ghur continued to be "for the most part heathen."¹ 'Utbi says that Mahmud waged war against the Ghurids because their infidelity and insolence in levying heavy imposts on caravans and traders required chastisement². Later on, when Sultan Mas'ud marched against Ghur he also met with non-Muslims³. It is certain, therefore, that by the middle of the 11th century the people of Ghur were for the most part non-Muslims. In the 12th century, when Ghiyas-u'd-din and Shihab-u'd-din appear on the stage of Ghur, the roots of Muslim culture do not seem to have gone down very deep⁴.

The early history of the Shansabaniah dynasty, to which Ghiyas-u'd-din and Shihab-u'd-din belonged, is lost in myth and romance. The first ancestor of this dynasty was Zuhak, an Arab tyrant who was imprisoned by Faridun, the hero of Persian national revolution. The descendants of Zuhak settled in an inaccessible valley, appropriately named, *Zu-Mayandash* (do'nt be afraid). Shansab, after whom the dynasty is named, was a descendant of Zuhak. Minhaj says that Zuhak accepted Islam at the hands of the Caliph 'Ali⁵. The author of *Rauzat-us-Safa* says that Shansab had obtained a written order from Hazrat 'Ali to occupy Ghur and that order was preserved by the dynasty till the time of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin⁶ (ob. 1152 A.D.).

The Shansabaniens came into prominence during the reign of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin who treacherously murdered Malik Qutb-u'd-din Hasan, a Ghurid prince who had taken refuge in his court and had been married to one of his daughters⁷. The Ghurids at once flew to arms and a brother of the deceased, Saif-u'd-din Suri, led an attack against Ghaznin and captured the city in September 1148 and assumed the title of Sultan—the first Ghurid to assume such a title⁸. Bahram fled but returned soon afterwards and reoccupied Ghaznin. Suri was subjected to all possible insults and was brutally murdered. Sur's younger brother, 'Ala-u'd-din Husain, swore to wreak vengeance upon the House of Ghaznin. He marched at the head of a large army and set the city on fire. Later on 'Ala-u'd-din suffered a defeat at the hands of Sanjar who threw him into prison. But the personal

1. *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 338.

2. *Tarikh-Yamini*, p. 364-65; *Baihaqi*, p. 127.

3. *Baihaqi*, pp. 134-135.

4. *Shahabuddin of Ghur*, Prof. Habib, (Aligarh Muslim University Journal, 1930).

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 29.

6. *Rauzat-us-Safa* (1915), Vol. IV, p. 36.

7. For details about Bahram's life, see *A History of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin*, Ghulam Mustafa Khan (Lahore, 1955).

8. *History of Bahram Shah*, p. 46.

qualities of 'Ala-u'd-din elicited admiration from his captor and he set him free. On his release 'Ala-u'd-din again embarked on his schemes of conquest. He conquered Bamian, Tukharistan, the districts of Jarum and Bust, Gharjistan, and Tulak near Herat. There were a number of reversals in his life but the policy of advance into Khurasan which he had initiated was persistently followed by his successors—Saif-u'd-din and Ghiyas-u'd-din. The Ghurid attempt at penetration in Khurasan made a conflict with Khwarizm Shah almost inevitable. Sultan Shah, son of Il-Arsalan, entered into an alliance with the Qara-Khitai, and with their help wrested Merv, Sarakhs, Tus and Nishapur, and, in 1187, he raided the territories of Ghur also. The Ghurids defeated him and his ally, Tughril of Herat. But Ghiyas-u'd-din could not extend his dominions because Sultan Shah's brother, Takash, who controlled the whole of Khurasan, stoutly resisted his progress. On Takash's death in 1200 the Ghurid troops entered Khurasan¹ and captured Nishapur, Merv, Sarakhs, Tus, and other places. Within a short time the whole of Khurasan was overrun by them. The period of Ghurid ascendancy had reached its highest watermark. A turn in the tide was imminent.

'Ala-u'd-din who succeeded Takash, husbanded his resources carefully and turned to reclaim the lost territories. 'He jumped up like a ferocious tiger and advanced with the rapidity of lightening.' He recovered Nishapur, Herat and other places. In retaliation Shihab-u'd-din now planned an attack on Gurganj, the capital of 'Ala-u'd-din. The latter sought the help of the Qara-Khitai. The Ghurids foresaw the defeat and disgrace that awaited them. Shihab-u'd-din beat a hasty retreat, but the Qara-Khitais pursued him and inflicted on him a signal defeat at Andkhud². The large part of Afghanistan passed into the hands of 'Ala-u'd-din Khwarizmshah. The dissolution of the Central Asian Empire of Ghur was complete when Shihab-u'd-din's viceroy, Yalduz, was driven out in 1215 and Ghaznin was attached by Jalal-u'd-din, the crown prince of Khwarizm.

Discussing the nature of the Ghurid political organisation, Professor Mohd. Habib remarks: "Behind the Ghorian Empire there was no imperial idea, no conception of kingdom, state or even government of any sort. Historical parallels are dangerous, but if we ignore mere difference in size, the institution that approaches the Shansabaniah kingdom most closely is the joint family system of the Hindus."³ What had led him to this conclusion is the fact that both the brothers—Ghiyas-u'd-din and Shihab-u'd-din—

1. For details see *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, 'Ata Malik Juwaini (English Translation: *The History of the World Conqueror*, by J. A. Boyle) Vol. I, p. 315 et seq.

2. The present-day Andkhui in Northern Afghanistan.

3. *Sultan Shahabuddin of Ghur* (Muslim University Journal, 1930), p. 34.

used the title of the 'Sultan' simultaneously and there was no superior title to distinguish the one from the other, and yet in their relations with foreign powers they were regarded as one. But this was not a peculiar feature of Ghurid political life, for the early Seljuqs and the Mongols had almost similiar traditions.

Shihab-u'd-din had no son and on being asked by a bold courtier as to who would succeed him, replied: "Other kings have only a few sons, but I have several thousand sons, namely my Turkish slaves, who will rule my kingdom in my name after I am dead and gone."² The bureaucracy of Slaves thus created consolidated one of the greatest empires of the middle ages—the Sultanate of Delhi.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 131-132.

Section Three

THE LEGAL STRUCTURE OF ISLAM

“Islamic Law,” remarks Sir Hamilton Gibb, “was the most far-reaching and effective agent in moulding the social order and the community life of the Muslim peoples...(It) gave practical expression to the characteristic Muslim quest for unity. In all essentials it was uniform, although the various schools differed in points of detail. To its operation was due the striking convergence of social ideals and ways of life throughout the Medieval Muslim world. It went deeper than Roman Law; by reason of its religious bases and its theocratic sanctions it was the spiritual regulator, the conscience of the Muslim community in all its parts and activities.”¹

The Prophet’s decision to leave Mecca and settle in Medina was very significant. He had delivered the message and enunciated the broad principles of religion and morality². Now it was necessary to translate those ideal principles into space-time forces and build up, on their basis, a socio-political structure. The foundations of the legal structure of Islam were thus laid in Medina, where the Prophet’s time was taken up by the stupendous task of integrating, moulding and shaping an Islamic socio-political organization out of the crude, rough hewn and lawless tribes of Arabia. In this task he was guided by divine revelations and his own intuitive intelligence which had a keen awareness of the requirements of the time.

The *Quran* gives certain laws, foundational and basic in nature, on which the Islamic society should be organised. The laws relate specially to the family—the ultimate basis of social life (marriage, divorce, inheritance, will etc.); but incidentally many other matters have been referred to. With regard to political organization only two broad observations are made; the rest is left to the secular instincts and legislative activity of mankind. Acting on these broad principles the Prophet gave shape to the institutions of Islam.

How did the Prophet develop these institutions? The prophetic method of teaching, according to Shah Wali-ullah, is that, generally speaking,

1. *Mohammadanism*, p. 10.

2. The Medinese revelations are radically different from the Meccan revelations. In the Meccan revelations the entire humanity (يا بني آدم يا ايها الناس) is addressed; in the Medinese revelations only those who embraced Islam (يا ايها الذين آمنوا) have been addressed. The former contain general ethical and religious principles, while the Medinese revelations deal with the foundational and basic laws according to which the Islamic society had to be integrated and organised.

the law revealed by a prophet takes special notice of the habits, ways and peculiarities of the people to whom he is specially sent. The prophet who aims at all-embracing principles, however, can neither reveal different principles for different peoples, nor leaves them to work out their own rules of conduct. His method is to train one particular people, and to use them as a nucleus for the building up of a universal *Shari'at*. In doing so he accentuates the principles underlying the social life of all mankind, and applies them to concrete cases in the light of the specific habits of the people immediately before him. The *Shari'at* values (*ahkam*) resulting from this application (e.g., relating to penalties for crimes) are, in a sense, specific to that people and since their observance is not an end in itself they cannot be strictly enforced in the case of future generations.¹

With the Prophet's death the situation completely changed. The Quranic revelations which used to direct the actions of the Mussalmans, whenever necessary, had now ceased for ever. Whatever the Prophet had left—the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*—had to be carefully studied and applied with intelligence.

The Pious Caliphs adhered to the *Quran* and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. If the *Quran* gave explicit instructions on a particular matter, it was final. If not, recourse was had to the traditions of the Prophet. If the Prophet's tradition did not contain anything to guide, then the caliphs exercised their own common sense and equity. It would, however, be incorrect to think that the attitude of the first four caliphs was one of rigid conservatism. There were occasions when, with the spirit of the *Quran* in view, they adopted measures in some cases radically different from those of the Prophet. Their outlook was essentially dynamic and they were always prepared to solve a problem in the light of what the circumstances demanded. But, during this period, no matters of such vital importance cropped up as to constitute a challenge to Muslim thought.

In the century that followed, the wave of Muslim conquest reached upto Samargand, beyond the Oxus and to Tours in Central France. With the extension of Muslim territory there cropped up a number of new legal problems neither contained in the *Quran* nor anticipated by the Prophet. Consequently, in the great cities of the conquered lands—Basra, Kufa, Fustat, etc.—speculations in jurisprudence became rife and moulded the Muslim system of laws². Hundreds of schools of Jurisprudence appeared

1. As quoted by Iqbal in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 171-172.

2. Some writers have laid too much emphasis on the influence of Romano-Byzantine law on these systems. A discussion of that aspect does not fall within the scope of this dissertation. Maulana Shibli has criticised these exaggerated notions in his *Sirat Al-Nu'man*. Von Grunebaum writes: "In spite of extensive borrowings from the laws of the countries they conquered, the *fiqh* as a system is profoundly original" (*Medieval Islam*, p. 153).

but few could crystallize into definite systems. "Some five hundred schools of Jurisprudence," writes Mez, "are said to have disappeared at or about the beginning of the 3rd/9th century¹."

Four schools of law, however, stand out prominently in the history of Islam: The *Hanafite*, the *Malikite*, the *Shafi'ite*, and the *Hanbalite*.

The founder of the *Hanafite school* was Imam Abu Hanifah (699-766 A.D.). A Persian by birth, he was fully alive to the new demands on religion as a consequence of the expansion of Muslim political power. His chief instruments in establishing his system were *opinion* and *analogy*. He started with the Quranic text and developed from it further details. He also insisted upon the right of preference (*Istihsan*), which necessitated a careful study of actual conditions in legal thinking.

Imam Abu Hanifah did not utilize *ahadis* (traditions of the Prophet) in constructing his legal system. Some writers say that this was due to the fact that no regular collections of traditions were available then. But this is not correct. Thirty years before his death Abdul Malik and Zahiri had made collections of *ahadis*. If these collections did not reach him or did not contain traditions of a legal import, could he not, like Imam Malik and Imam Hanbal, make his own collections? Why did he then refrain from using *ahadis*? Probably this attitude was born of a conviction that the *ahadis* related to particular conditions of time and space and could not be indiscriminately applied to the new conditions.

Imam Abu Hanifah believed in careful study of the actual conditions and an intelligent application of the Quranic spirit to solve new problems. Consequently, his school is considered "as the most tolerant school of Islam,"² and "it possesses greater power of creative adaptation than any other school of Mohammedan Law."³ As a system of religio-judicial thought, Von Kremer considers it to be the "highest and the loftiest achievement of which Islam was capable⁴."

The founder of the *Malikite school*, Imam Malik b. Anas (715-795 A.D.) was born and brought up in Medina, "the mother-city of Muslim law."⁵ He was a judge and was in practical touch with actual life but his

1. *The Renaissance of Islam*, p. 212.

2. *History of the Arabs*, Hitti, p. pp. 397-398.

3. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 177.

4. As cited by Hitti in *History of the Arabs*, p. 398.

5. *Development of Muslim Theology*, MacDonald, p. 99.

outlook was narrowed down by his instinctive partiality towards the legal tradition of Hejaz.

Imam Malik did not place much reliance on *qiyas*. He was chiefly guided by *sunnah* and the *ijma'* of Medina. His *Muwatta*, which is usually taken as primarily a book of tradition, is really a *corpus uirius*, not a *corpus traditionum*¹. It forms a connecting link between the *fiqh* literature of earlier days and the *hadis* collections of later times².

The Medinese School of Jurisprudence criticised the Iraqi School. The conflict between them was "essentially the controversy between the deductive and inductive methods in legal research."³

Between the liberal Iraq and the conservative Medina, many schools rose up. Imam Muhammad bin Idris Shafi'i (767-820 A.D.), a pupil of Imam Malik and Imam Muhammad, acted as an intermediary between independent legal investigation and the traditionism of his time. He founded the science of *Usul* and perfected the doctrine of *Ijma'*. In his *Risalah* he investigated the principles and methods of jurisprudence.

Imam Hanbal (780-855 A.D.), the founder of the fourth important school, was originally the pupil of Imam Shafi'i. He strictly adhered to *hadis* and rejected the attitude of *ahl-ur rai* and opposed the extension of *Ijma'* and *qiyas*. His school represents the attitude of extreme orthodox intransigence. Tabari refused to recognize him as a jurist (*faqih*), for he considered him to be nothing more than a mere traditionist (*muhaddis*).

The sources utilised by these jurists for building up the legal structure of Islam were—the *Quran*, the *ahadis*, the *ijma'* and the *qiyas*⁴. In the beginning there was great disagreement amongst the various schools about the comparative value of the 'four roots' and the Shafi'ites fought bloody battles with Hanbalites in the streets of Baghdad and the Hanafites slaughtered Shafi'ites at Isfahan, but, at last the period of active recrimination came to an end and the believers in these schools succeeded in determining the respective role of these principles of Muslim law.

The *Quran* is the primary basis of Islamic law. Next come the *ahadis*. An intricate science has been built up to distinguish between the genuine and the spurious *ahadis*. The genuine *ahadis* have again been classified into categories of 'good', 'less good', and 'weak'. On these two pillars is erected the legal structure of Islam.

1. MacDonald, p. 78.

2. *Ency. of Islam*, III, p. 205,; Fyzee, p. 23.

3. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 177.

4. For detailed study, see *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, J. Schacht, (Oxford 1950).

*Ijma'*¹, the third source is "the most important legal notion in Islam."² According to Prof. Gibb: "*Vox populi*, the expressed will of the community—not as measured by the counting of votes or the decisions of councils at any given moment, but as demonstrated by the slowly accumulating pressure of opinion over a long period of time—is recognized in orthodox Islam next after *Vox Dei* and *Vox Prophetæ* as a third infallible source of religious truth."³ Though the principle of *Ijma'* remained effective but it never assumed the form of a permanent legislative institution⁴, probably because it went against the political interests of the Umayyads and the Abbasids.

The fourth basis is *qiyas*, analogical reasoning in legislation. The legitimacy of this method was strongly contested at first. In fact it was the last of the four principles to gain explicit recognition. Imam Abu Hanifah came in for criticism by Imam Malik and Imam Shafi'i for introducing this principle. In fact *qiyas* is only another name for *Ijtihad*⁵.

Some authorities were inclined to admit custom (*'urf* or *'ada*) among the principles of *fiqh*. The *Shari'at* refers to custom only for settling details, which in the nature of things differ from place to place (e.g., the amount of dowry payable by the husband); but temporal authorities sought to justify on its score their secular enactments. Mawardi says that *'urf* was at least as well recognized amongst Muslims as the *Shari'at* itself.

After the formation of these schools, the later scholars confined themselves to the methods of interpretation and application laid down by the founders of these schools. No attempt was made to go to the main sources. Instead, the doctrine of *Taqlid* (adherence) was emphasized and it was maintained that the 'Gate of *Ijtihad* was closed after the death of Imam Hanbal⁶'. This was contrary even to the attitude of the founders of the schools⁷. None of them ever claimed the finality which the later generations assigned to them.

The 10th century marks the close of all efforts at the interpretation of the *Quran* and the *ahadis* by the aid of individual insight. Text books were

1. See D. B. MacDonald's article on *Idjma* in the *Ency. of Islam*, III, p. 448.

2. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 173.

3. *Modern Trends in Islam*, p. 11.

4. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 173.

5. Vide, D. B. MacDonald's article on *Idjtihad* in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 448-49.

6. *The Social Structure of Islam*, Levy p. 182.

7. Harun-ur Rashid wanted the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik to be nailed on the walls of *Kaba* and every one forced to act upon it. The Imam objected to it and said that his was not the final word. There was room for further interpretation.

profusely written on the different aspects of Muslim Jurisprudence, but no attempt was made to go to the roots of Islamic law. The decisions of the old masters were classified under special rubrics and neatly collected in manuals. The *Hedayah* of Imam Abul Hasan Burhan ud-din 'Ali Abu Bakr of Marghinan, and the *Kanz-u'd-Daqaiq* of Maulana 'Abdullah bin Ahmad bin Mahmud Nasafi are the two most outstanding works of this kind.

Why was this attitude of *Taqlid*¹ developed by the '*Ulama* of Islam and why was the *Shari'at* reduced to a static state? This attitude was, in part, due to a fear of rationalism and analytic thought. Free thought was muzzled lest it may endanger the solidarity of Islamic society. From the 13th century there is a tendency amongst the legists of Islam for over-organisation by a false reverence for the past. Professor Gibb observes: "Its very lack of flexibility contributed to those results (unifying force in Islamic culture) by preventing divergences and disintegration into purely *local* systems."²

The law of Islam has since then remained in a petrified state and has not marched with the times. There were, however, men like Imam Ibn-Taimyyah (ob. 1328) Ibn Daqiqil-Id (ob. 1302), Suyuti (ob. 1505) Juwaini (1085) and others who rebelled against the finality claimed by the schools and insisted upon freedom of *Ijtihad*. Their thought, no doubt, exercised tremendous influence in their respective areas of activity but it could not give a new orientation and a forward pull to the Muslim juristic activity and could not crystalize into a movement.

What was then the law administered by the Qazis in the law courts? The law courts enforced just the law contained in these manuals. No *qazi* could think of going back to the primary sources of law—the *Quran* and the *Sunnah*. If the *qazis* or the *muftis* anywhere exercised their individual judgement it was only in regard to secondary points where the editors of the school compendiums did not agree and even in that case an attempt at reconciliation was all that they made. The decisions of the *muftis* (i.e., *fatwas*) based on earlier authorities were often collected together and thus a large number of books on *fatwa* came into being.

So far as the attitude of Muslim governments towards the *qazis* was concerned, they gave them perfect freedom in civil and personal matters concerning marriage, inheritance, *waqf*, etc., but in regard to the administra-

1. Prof. J. Schacht, however, holds that "the *taklid*...is not to be held responsible for the deadening of the stimulus to the development of *fiqh* in later times." *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, article on *Taklid* I, p. 630.

2. *Mohammadanism*, p. 106.

tive matters they sought to restrict the jurisdiction of the *qazis*¹. If the *fatawa* collections of the middle ages are scrutinized as a whole it would appear that while innumerable problems relating to civil, personal and religious matters have been discussed in detail, there is hardly any reference to political or administrative problems. The reason is not far to discover. In administrative matters the Muslim governments were guided, not by the *Shari'at* laws, but by what Barani calls, the *zawabit*², i.e., the secular regulations framed by the rulers in the light of the exigencies of the time. It is, however, interesting to note that while Imam Ghazzali admitted that the acts of the secular administration were valid in view of the circumstances of the time³, Ibn-i Khaldun rejected the validity of this secular legislation, declaring it to be concerned only with this world, fleeting and vain, whereas the laws of the *Shari'at* are designed to secure man's welfare both here and hereafter⁴.

1. In the 10th century A.H. a Jewish rabbi wrote about Egypt: 'They have two kinds of justice, the one *Shari'* and the other '*urfi*. The *shar'i* justice is in the hands of the chief *qazi*, who decides what is the religious law, the princes being charged to carry out his decisions, while the '*urf* justice is entrusted to the prince of the country who may put a man to death by '*urfi* even if it be contrary to the religious law and without the knowledge of the chief *qazi*.' (*The Social Structure of Islam*, Levy p. 262. For the reference see Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 205).

2. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, (Rotograph). Maqrizi writes: "People are in our day, and have been ever since the beginning of the Turkish (*mamluk*) regime in Egypt and Syria, under the impression that laws are of two kinds, the first that of the *Shari'at* and the second that of *siyasa* (i.e., the State)." *Khitat* (Bulaq 1270 A.H.), Vol. II, p. 220.

3. *Iqtisad fi'l-i'tiqad* (Cairo 1327 A.H.) pp. 98 *et seq.*

4. *Prolegomenes* ed. Quatremere I p. 342, as cited by Levy in *The Social Structure of Islam*, p. 259.

Section Four

THE THEOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF ISLAM

The basis of all theological studies in Islam is the *Quran*. All efforts of the Mussalmans in the theological sphere have clustered round it. When the Mussalmans tried to explain the verses of the *Quran* they developed '*Ilm-e Tafsir* (Science of Exegesis); when they turned to the acts and deeds of the messenger of the *Quran*, they founded '*Ilm-i Hadis* (Science of Traditions); when they discussed doctrinal details of the *Quran*, they developed '*Ilm-i Kalam*; when the legal maxims of the *Quran* were discussed, the science of *fiqh* (Jurisprudence) was born. The attempt to recite the *Quran* properly led to the development of the science of *tajwid* and *qirat* (Recitation and punctuation). The study of its grammar led to the growth of *Sarf* and *Nahv* (Grammar and Syntax). Thus every literary endeavour of the Mussalmans started almost from the *Quran*.

The contribution of 'Ajam towards the development of theological sciences was very great. The majority of the commentators of the *Quran* belong to the Persian lands; of the great compilers of *ahadis* too, only Imam Malik belonged to the Arab race. In other branches of theological studies also, 'Ajam played a leading role.

If the history of the development of the theological sciences is surveyed as a whole, it would appear that from the 3rd to the 8th century A.H. a remarkably original contribution was made in all spheres. The creative genius of the Mussalmans was at its best during this period but in the centuries that followed all progress virtually stopped and the scholars were satisfied with merely restating, summarizing and annotating what the old masters had said¹.

'*Ilm-i Tafsir* (Quranic Exegesis): The '*Ilm-i Tafsir* sets out to resolve all the problems of hermeneutics. Though oral glosses on points of language or interpretation were preserved from the very beginning, but the first critical study of these materials was made by Tabari² (838-922 A.D.), whose *Jami'*

1. An illustration will make the point more clear. In 417 A.H./1026 A.D. Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jurjani wrote two books: *Dala'il-ul-Ai'jaz* and *Asrarul Balaghah*. Imam Razi (ob. 606 A.H./1290 A.D.) summarised them in *al-Ejaz fi-dala'il ul Aijaz*. Sikaki (ob. 626 A.H./1228 A.D.) summarised *Al-Ejaz* in the third volume of his *Miftah ul-Ulum*. Khatib Qazwini (ob. 739 A.H./1338 A.D.) summarised *Miftah* in his *Talkhis-ul Miftah* and Sa'd-u'd-din Taftazani (ob. 793 A.H./1390 A.D.) wrote two commentaries on it.

2. For Tabari, see R. Paret's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 578-79.

'*al-Bayan fi Tafsir al-Quran* sums up in thirty volumes¹ the whole Quranic learning of the three centuries of the *Hijrah*. Besides being an outstanding philologist, Tabari was well-versed in the historical, religious and juridic literature of Islam. Professor Gibb rightly remarks that his work "laid the foundations upon which later scholars built their more specialized commentaries²." Then appeared the *Kashshaf*³ of Abul Qasim Mahmud bin 'Umar al-Zamakhshari⁴ (1075-1143 A.D.). Zamakhshari belonged to the Mu'tazalite school and so he tried to excise from the *Quran* all traces of material favourable to determinism, anthropomorphism and other theories to which Mu'tazilism is opposed⁵. But Zamakhshari was a scholar of penetrating intelligence, a moralist of delicate sensibilities and a philologist of consummate skill. In spite of his Mu'tazilite leanings, his work has remained the standard work on exegesis and later commentators have mainly drawn from him.

Then appeared the *Tafsir-i Kabir* of Imam Fakhr-u'd-din Razi (ob. 1209 A.D.). It was characterised by anti-Mu'tazalite and anti-Zahirite approach. In the next century 'Abdullah b. 'Umar al-Baizawi (ob. 1316 A.D.) produced his *Anwar-ul-Tanzil wa Asrar-ul-Tawil*, which is largely based on the *Kashshaf* of Zamakhshari. Baizawi has fixed the beliefs of the pious Muslims as regards the interpretation of the sacred Book⁶. Gibb correctly remarks that "modern orthodox interpretation stands on his (Baizawi's) shoulders."⁷

Essentially and basically, therefore, it is *Kashshaf* which has fixed Muslim beliefs as regards exegesis. A 14th century mystic of India thus estimates the importance of Zamakhshari's work: "*Whatever is given in other works is from this book; whatever the people have liked, they have copied from it and have compiled a separate work in their own name.*"⁸

The fact, however, remains that after Zamakhshari no original work on *tafsir* appeared. In India the 'Ulama were content with repeating and restating what the great Zamakhshari had written.

Next to the *Quran* rank the traditions of the Prophet (*ahadis*).

1. Printed at Bulaq in 1323 -9 and at Cairo in 1331 A.H.

2. *Mohammadanism*, p. 51.

3. *al-Kashshaf an Haqaiq al Tanzil*, edited by W. Nassau Lees and Khadim Hussain and 'Abdul Hai (Calcutta, 1856).

4. For his life, see C. Brockelmann's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 1205-1207.

5. *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, H. Lammens, p. 44.

6. See B. Carra De Vaux's article on *Tafsir* in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 604.

7. *Mohammadanism*, p. 52.

8. *Saroor-us Sadur*, (MS) p. 44.

MacDonald has thus traced the origin and growth of the *hadis* literature:

"What he (the Prophet) said, and what he did; what he refrained from doing; what he gave his quasi-approval to by silence; all was passed on in rapidly increasing, pregnant little narratives. First, his immediate companions would note, either by committing to memory or to a written record, his utterances and table talks generally.....Above all, a record was being gathered of all the cases judged by him, and his decisions; of all the answers which he gave to formal questions on religious life and faith. All this was jotted down by the Companions on *sahifas*—odd sheets...The records of sayings were called *hadiths*; the rest, as a whole, *Sunna*—custom.....At first each man had his own collection in memory or in writing. Then after the death of the Prophet and when his first Companions were dropping off, these collections were passed on to others of the second generation. And so the chain ran on and in time a tradition came to consist formally of two things—the text or matter (*matn*) so handed on, and the succession (*isnad*) over whose lips it had passed."¹

No books of *hadis*, however, appeared during the Umayyad period. The first book of *hadis* is the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik (ob. 794 A.D.). To Imam Malik the *matn* or text of a tradition was the only thing of importance. To the *isnad* he paid little attention. Then appeared the *Musnad* of Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal (ob. 855 A.D.). The third century of the *Hijrah* saw the compilation of the following works on *hadis*: (1) *Al Jami' al-Sahih*² by Muhammad bin Isma'il Bukhari. In this work 7275 traditions of the Prophet have been classified according to subject matter. Imam Bukhari wanted to furnish the jurists and theologians with authentic traditions on all matters for ready reference. His classification served the purpose he had in view. (2) *Al-Sahih* by Imam Abul Hasan Muslim Nishapuri³ (ob. 874 A.D.). It differs from other collections of *ahadis* on two points: firstly, it is not divided into chapters and, secondly, peculiar attention has been paid here to the *isnad*. (3) *Kitab-ul Sunan* by Abu Da'ud Sulaiman⁴ of Basra (ob. 888 A.D.). It differs from other works in that it does not concern itself with historical, ethical or dogmatical enquiries. Its contents are almost exclusively juridical. (4) *Jami'*⁵ by Abu 'Isa Muhammad Tirmizi (ob. 892 A.D.). Tirmizi has pointed out differences between the *mazahib* and from this point of view his work is the oldest. (5) *Sunnan*⁶ of Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad b. Maja of Qazwin (824-886 A.D.). (6) *Sunan* of Abu 'Abdu⁷ Rahman Ahmad al-Nasa'i (830-915 A.D.).

1. *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, p. 75.

2. Edited by L. Krehl (Leyden) 1862-68; Vol. IV, edited by T. W. Juynboll, (Leyden) 1907-1908.

3. For *Imam Muslim*, see A. J. Wensinck's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 756. The *Sahih Muslim* was printed at Cairo (1283 A.H.) in 5 volumes.

4. For *Abu Da'ud*, see W. Marçais's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 82-83. His *Sunan* was printed at Cairo (1292 A.H.) in 2 volumes.

5. Cairo, 1292 A.H. in 2 volumes.

6. Cairo, 1313 A.H. in 2 volumes.

7. Cairo, 1312 A.H. in 2 volumes.

These collections are considered authentic (*Siha Satta*). Shah Waliullah who has classified the entire *hadith* literature under five categories in order to determine the relative importance and authenticity of the various collections, places the *Muwatta*, *Sahih al-Bukhari* and the *Sahih al-Muslim* in the first category, with *Muwatta* given the pride of place. He approvingly quotes Imam Shafi'i who is reported to have said: "The truest book after the Book of God is the *Muwatta* of Imam Malik."

To the second category belong *Sunan-i Abu Da'ud*, *Jami'-i Tirmizi*, *Nasa'i*, *Musnad-i Imam Ahmad*. Under the third category Shah Waliullah has placed the following works: *Musnad-i Abu 'Ali*, *'Abdur Razzaq: Abu Bakr b. Abi Shiba*. *Musnad-i 'Abd bin Hamid*, *Tiyalsi*, *Baihaqi*, *Tahavi* and *Tabrani*. To the fourth category belong the following: *Ibn-i Haban*, *Kamil ibn-i 'Adi*, *Abu Naim*, *Jauzqani*, *Ibn-i Asakir*, *Ibn-i Najar*, *Daylami*, and *Musnad-i Khwarazmi*. Under the fifth and the last category he includes the traditions current among the jurists and the mystics.

The process of collecting *hadis* could not go on indefinitely. It had to come to an end. With the discontinuance of this process the energies of the 'ulama turned towards developing the science of testing the nature and value of recorded traditions and making a critical study of *isnad*. The *usul-i Hadis* and *Isma-ur-Rijal* were the result of this critical study. About the *usul-i-isnad*, Hitti says that it "meets the most essential requirements of modern historiography¹."

Later scholars summarised and rearranged from different points of view the works of the six great compilers of *ahadis*. Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan of Bada'un selected *ahadis* from the works of Muslim and Bukhari in a compilation known as *Mashariq-ul—Anwar*.

'Ilm-i — Kalam (Muslim theological ideas): The development of Muslim theology began after the death of the Prophet. "So long as he (the Prophet) lived and received infallible revelations in solution of all questions of faith or usage that might come up, it is obvious that no system of theology could be formed or even thought of."² After his death, whenever anybody differed from his practice or committed a mistake in the performance of any religious duty the question of right or wrong at once cropped up. In the beginning these differences remained on a purely private basis³.

1. *The Origins of the Islamic State*, (Introduction), p. 3.

2. *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, MacDonald, p. 12; *Sirat Al-Nu'man*, Shibli, pp. 193-94.

3. Shah Wali ullah of Delhi has made a very careful and critical study of the circumstances in which early theological controversies led to the formation of schools in his *Insaf fi Biyan-i-Sabab-al Ikhtilaf* (Delhi 1308 A.H.).

Later, when the political frontiers of Islam expanded and people belonging to different mental climates joined the fold of Islam, theological controversies started because every one interpreted Islam in terms of his own peculiar national instincts and racial inclinations. Broadly speaking, there were three different attitudes towards theological controversies. Some tackled the problems in a traditional way (*naql*), others through reason (*aql*); other still through mystic intuition (*kashf*).

Definite theories, however, arose out of the question of practical politics¹. The murder of the Caliph 'Usman and the civil war that followed it, raised the question: What makes the *imam* the head of the community? Two answers were given to this question. One group said that the choice of the community was the deciding factor, the other said that 'relationship with the Prophet was the main thing. Divergent views became the basis of two parties—the *Sunnites* and the *Shi'ites*².

After the Battle of Siffin this question entered a second stage when a group deserted 'Ali and became known as the Kharijites³. They claimed to be the only true believers. Thus the Kharijites for the first time raised the question of *faith* and *heresy*. In opposition to the Kharijites there appeared the *Murji'ites*.

The Kharijites rejected the idea of *Imam* and declared that an *imam* was unnecessary when men knew how to order their social life by the Book of God. Neither reason nor revelation demands an *imam*³. The Kharijite attitude was, in fact, the result of extreme disgust and distrust of the aristocratic party of Mecca and the hierarchical clique of Medina. That this dissatisfaction expressed itself in a religious form was, in fact, inevitable in the medieval context of things.

A Kharijite thought that his sect alone was right; all others were damned. The Murji'ites held that there was hope for all. "Judgement on what is doubtful must be postponed. All who call themselves Muslims are Muslims"—such was their attitude. They held that faith was the one thing needed. If faith is present, sins do not harm; if not, virtuous acts do no good.

1. *'Ilm ul-Kalam*, Shibli, p. 17.

2. 'Abdullah bin Saba was the founder and organizer of the Shi'a sect. His doctrines gave a theological system to Shi'aism (*Literary History of the Arabs*, Nicholson, p. 217). According to him Imamate belonged to 'Ali by right. He emphasized the supernatural character of the Imam, the return of the dead to this world and messianic idea. Later on belief in the survival of the Shia Imam, in his reappearance, in metempsychosis, and in the total or partial incarnation of the Divinity in the person of the 'Alids became common among most of the Shias. See, *Muslim Theology*, Tritton p. 21, *et seq.*

3. *Muslim Theology*, Tritton, p. 38.

Out of these controversies there arose the problem of predestination and free-will¹. The Muri'jite view helped to strengthen the hands of the Umayyad aristocracy which wanted the people to believe in *predestination* and tamely submit to the Ummayyad rule. Ma'bad Juhami declared that man possessed *qadar* or power over his actions. He had to pay the penalty for this views, but his doctrines assumed a revolutionary character². Under the protection of the Qadarite doctrines the foundations of the Umayyad power were shattered. It relieved the people from the political as well as the ideological domination of the Umayyads.

The rationalist movement in Islam became very powerful during the early Abbasid period, particularly during the reign of Mamun (813-833 A.D.). The study of the Greek philosophy released new intellectual forces and broadened the mental horizon in all spheres of thought and action. "The fresh intellectual vigour imparted by the assimilation of Greek philosophy which was studied with great avidity, led immediately to a critical examination of Islamic monotheism."³

The *Mu'tazala* conception of God and their theory of matter deserve to be noted. They deny the separate reality of divine attributes, and declare their absolute identity with the absolute divine Principle. "God" says Abdul Huzail, "is knowing, all-powerful, living: and his knowledge, power and life constitute His very essence (*zat*)."

The Abbasid support to the Mu'tazalite doctrine had some political reasons also. The Mu'tazalites rejected the theory of *Sifat* (Attributes) and *Tashbih* (Resemblance) and *Halul* (Fusion). Once 'attributes' are denied, the whole structure on which the Shi'a ideology of the Divine attributes of Imam is based, falls to the ground.

The Mu'tazalite doctrines were challenged and refuted by Abul Hasan 'Ali al-Ash'ari of Baghdad (ob. 936 A.D.). He became the founder of the scholastic theology (*Kalam*) in Islam. To al-Ash'ari is also attributed the introduction of the formula *bila kayf* (without modality) according to which one is expected to accept the anthropomorphic expressions in the *Quran* without any explanation demanded or given. This new principle served as a damper on free thought and research. With a view to propagating the Ash'arite system the famous *Madrassa-i Nizamiyah* was established by the Seljuq Wazir, Nizam-ul-Mulk.

1. See, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, by W. M. Watt (London 1948).

2. When Yazid b. Walid raised the standard of revolt he declared himself a Qadarite and thousands of people joined his banner.

3. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, Mohd. Iqbal p. 46.

Al-Ash'ari was followed by Imam Ghazzali, whose clear, lucid and intelligent exposition of the principles of Islam ushered in the dawn of a new era in the realm of Muslim theological ideas. His works were read avidly and were prescribed in the various courses of studies in India.

Side by side with the development of Mu'tazalaism we see many other movements expressive of new tendencies and religious moods, e.g. *Sufism*¹ and *Isma'ilism*.

A claim for 'Alid legitimism produced *Shi'atism* which later on became divided into two groups: the *Sab'iyya* and the *Asnai Ash'ariyya*. The main point of difference was the actual number and succession of the Imams. The *Sab'iyyas* believed in seven Imams, and regarded Isma'il Ja'far's eldest son as the seventh and the last of them. The latter recognised Isma'il's younger son, Musa, and his successors down to the twelfth Imam. The believers of the seven Imams are known as the *Isma'ilis*. The Isma'ili movement expressed itself in a number of forms: The *Carmathians*, the *Fatimid Caliphs of Cairo*, the *Ikhwan-us Safa*, the *Assasins*—all being different facets of the same movement². The Isma'ili movement became a force to reckon with under the influence of 'Abdullah al-Maimun al-Qaddah. Iqbal writes about him: "...he made an attempt under the pious cloak of the doctrine of *Imamat* (Authority) to synthesise all the dominating ideas of the time. Greek Philosophy, Christianity, Rationalism, Sufism, Manichaeism, Persian heresies, and above all the idea of reincarnation, all came forward to contribute their respective shares to the boldly conceived Ismailian whole the various aspects of which were to be gradually revealed to the initiated, by the 'Leader'—ever the ever-incarnating Universal Reason—according to the intellectual development of the age in which he incarnated himself."³

The organization of the Isma'ilis and the Carmathians was secret, but their methods of propaganda were highly effective. They succeeded in winning over the lower section of the population and the uneducated people to their fold. Tabari says that the Carmathians consisted mainly of peasants and tillers. Imam Ghazzali also clearly realized the special appeal of the movement to the *'awam* and said that the chief danger of the heresy lay in the attraction it had for the labouring and the artisan classes⁴.

Of the numerous sects that appeared at this time, the Karramiyan sect deserves special notice on account of the influence it exercised on the religious

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1. A discussion of the mystic movement occurs in the following chapter.
 2. *The Origins of Ismailism*, Lewis, p. 1.
 3. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, pp. 58-59.
 4. *The Origins of Ismailism*, p. 93.

thought of the early Ghurids¹. The founder of this sect was Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad b. Karram, son of a vintner of Nishapur². Though he was persecuted in the earlier stages of his religious propaganda, his sect spread rapidly in Ghur, Gharjistan, Bamiyan and other adjoining regions. Baghdadi says that the 'weavers' and the 'distressed ones' of the villages of Nishapur particularly felt attracted towards this sect³. 'Utbi quotes verses from a poet of the period according to which the only true creed (*din*) was that of Muhammad b. Karram, just as the only genuine system of law was that of Abu Hanifah⁴. Even Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin extended his patronage to this sect. Abu Mansur 'Abdul Qahir Baghdadi (ob. 1037) gives the following account of the doctrines of the Karramiyya sect:

"Ibn Karram urged his followers to ascribe corporeality to the object of his Worship. He held that He is a body, possessing an end and limit below, where He comes in contact with His throne... In one of his books Ibn Karram has described the object of his Worship as a substance...In this vein he wrote in the preface to his book, which is entitled *The Tortures in the Grave*, that God is a Unit of essence and a Unit of substance...Ibn Karram writes in his work that God touches His throne and that the throne is a place for Him....Ibn Karram and his adherents told that the Object of their Worship is a subject in which created entities exist. They believe that His utterances, His will, His visual and auditory perceptions, His contiguity to the uppermost surface of the Universe, are all accidents originated in Him and He is the place for these creations which originated in Him... The Karramiya also attacked the problem of faith. They hold that it consists only of a single confession made at the beginning of time. Its repetition is not regarded as an act of faith except from an apostate who confesses it after his apostacy...it is sufficient for the traveller to say the *Allah Akbar* twice without kneeling, bowing, standing, sitting or reciting the *Shahada* or the salutation...He also ruled out the washing of the dead and prayer after them as customs not ordained by law. What is obligatory consists merely in shrouding and burying them. He also recognized the validity of prayer, fasting, or the pilgrimage unaccompanied by concentration.⁵"

1. Sultan Shihab-u'd-din and his brother, Ghiyas-u'd-din, originally belonged to this sect. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 77.

2. For details about the life and teachings of the founder, see *Tarikh al-Kamil*, Ibn-i Asir (Egypt edition, 1290 A.H.) Vol. VII, p. 77; *Kitab-ul-Milal wan-Nihal*, Shahrastani (London, 1946), pp. 85-96; *Mizan al-I'tidal*, Vol. III, p. 149. See also Margoliouth's article on *Karramiya* in the *Ency. of Islam*, III, pp. 773-74.

3. *Al-Farq Bain al-Firaq*, Baghdadi (English translation by A.S. Halkin) II, pp. 18-19.

4. *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* p. 290.

5. *Al-Farq Bain al-Firaq* (Moslem Schisms and sects) Abu Mansur 'Abdul Qahir al-Baghdadi, translated by Abraham S. Halkin, Part II (Tel Aviv 1935), pp. 18-30.

Many people who were brought up in the traditions of Mahayana Buddhism found something akin to their own religious beliefs in the anthropomorphism of the Karramiyans and so, they accepted it without hesitation.

Section Five

THE MYSTIC STRUCTURE OF ISLAM

Few aspects of Muslim religious life during the middle ages are of such absorbing interest as the origin and growth of the mystic ideology and institutions. Mystical sense, it may be noted, is not "the sole prerogative of any race, language or nation¹." All people, at one stage or the other, usually after having passed through the meridian of their glory, develop mystic tendencies and *weltanचाung*. But the mystic movement in Islam has certain peculiar features of its own which make its study a necessary adjunct to a proper understanding of the history of medieval 'Ajam, including India. It is all the more so because the movement of popular religion in Islam is very closely connected with the history of Islamic mysticism². And further because it has been through the mystic channels alone that dynamic and progressive elements have entered the social structure of Islam. The orthodox theologians, often conservative and reactionary, rarely appreciated the change in the moods of the time and seldom tried to reconstruct their religious thought accordingly. The mystic thought has proved, in this sense, the *protecting glacis* of the Muslim society and has given it new vitality by removing the contradictions between static theology and the rapidly changing conditions of life. "Through the course of Islamic history", writes Prof. Gibb, "Islam's culture was challenged, but never overpowered, for the *sufi* and other mystical thought always came to the rescue of its most dogmatic preaching and always gave it that strength and power which no challenge could destroy."³ Besides, unlike mystics of most other creeds, the *sufis* (specially after the rise of the *silsilahs*) did not aim at merely personal salvation, but worked for the spiritual culture of humanity as a whole.

Rise of the Mystic Movement

Various theories have been advanced about the origin of mystic ideas in Islam. Christianity, Hellenism, Manicheism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Parseeism have all been suggested as its main sources. But Muslim mystics have always firmly combated such theories and have claimed that mysticism is based on the *Quran* and the traditions of the Prophet. That

1. Louis Massignon, as quoted by Lammens in *Islam: Belief and Institutions*, p. 11.

2. *Mohammadanism*, Gibb, p. 128.

3. As quoted in *Islamic Culture*, July 1942, p. 264.

Tasawwuf is essentially Islamic in its *origin* is as true as the fact that as the mystic movement spread to various regions it assimilated and imbibed elements from cultures and religions that were different from its own. The *Quran* is often allegorical with a mystical touch. It defines a Muslim in these words: "Those who believe in the Unseen, establish daily prayers and spend out of what we have given them."¹...Further, as to the Unseen it says that it is your own soul. "We are nigher to him (man) than his own jugular vein."² Again, the essential nature of the *Unseen* is pure light: "God is the light of the heavens and earth."³ Out of these verses the *sufis* have developed their pantheistic views about the Reality behind all creation.

The *sufis* say that the Prophet had an esoteric teaching as distinguished from the teaching contained in the Book and cite the following verse in their support: "As we have sent a Prophet to you from among yourselves who reads our verses to you, purifies you, teaches you the Book and the Wisdom, and teaches you what you did not know before⁴."

If by mysticism we mean '*interiorization*' in the rites of worship and a deep and restless devotion to God, to the exclusion of all earthly ties, the germination of mystic spirit may be traced back to the days of the Prophet who himself used to retire to the cave of Hira to meditate for a certain period of time every year. Some seventy persons—known as *Ahle Suffa*—lived in the mosque of the Prophet and prayed day and night during his life time. They had no earthly attachments and no worldly engagements. Besides, two companions of the Prophet—Abu Zar Ghiffari (ob. 652 A.D.) and Huzaifa (ob. 657 A.D.)—who were known for their piety and other worldly outlook, set the traditions of mystic attitude in Islam.

The circumstances that led to the birth and growth of the mystic ideal of life call for some explanation. The causes were psychological, social and personal.

Firstly, its basis may be sought in the human aspiration to a personal, direct approach to, and a more intense experience of the Supreme Being and the religious truth. The Prophet himself had direct consciousness of divine presence. Mystics were eager to tread the same path. Besides, a strong religious emotion could not be satisfied by any orthodox or formal approach to the Ultimate Reality. The '*Ulama* had reduced Islam to a set of lifeless rituals and ceremonies. Intensely religious spirits, hungering after a deeper communion, naturally turned to mystic speculation and experience as the

1. S. II: 2.

2. S. L: 15.

3. S. XXIV: 35.

4. S. II: 146.

real source of religious progress and spiritual development. A consciousness of contradiction in the metaphysical and ethical aspects of popular theology, further encouraged the mystic attitude which is essentially an attempt to transcend discord and reduce all contradictions into an absolute unity.

Secondly, mysticism represents a reaction against over-intellectualism, formalism and hair-splitting theology. It was under the influence of Greek thought that the Muslim scholars had adopted a sophisticated approach towards religion. Their attitude was characterised by artificialism (*wazi'at*) and they tried to represent the simple facts of faith in terms derived mainly from Greek logic and metaphysics. Hair-splitting controversies which started in theology—particularly amongst the Ash'arite and the Mu'tazalites—froze the heat of spiritual life. Naturally, people who yearned for a direct, and natural approach towards religion turned towards the spiritual aspects of religion. They developed cosmic emotions as an antidote to over-intellectualism. Iqbal very significantly remarks: "The germs of scepticism latent in Rationalism ultimately necessitated an appeal to a super-intellectual source of knowledge which asserted itself in the *Risala* of Al-Qushairi (ob. 968 A.D.)."¹

Besides, the rigidity and formalism of the various schools of *Fiqh* found its reaction in the development of mystic thought. The Hanbalites were the bitterest enemies of independent thought. Mysticism is at its higher level a form of free-thinking. The following couplet very neatly expresses the mystic challenge to the jurists:

در کنز و هدایه نتوان دید خدا را
آئینه دل: ہیں کہ کتابے بہ ازیں نیست

(You cannot see God in *Kanz* or *Hidayah*,

Look into the mirror of the heart, for there is no book better than this.)

Lastly, the mystic call in Islam was the result of an inner rebellion of conscience against the social injustices of the age. The rise of the Umayyads gave a rude shock to the religious sentiments of those Mussalmans who thought that Islam had not come simply to establish empires. They looked with dismay at the spectacle of the Mussalmans drifting away from the ideals of Islam and wallowing in sordid materialism. The impious ways of the Muslim governing classes provoked great disgust in sensitive minds. If in the field of politics the Umayyad Imperialism gave birth to the *Mawali* movement, it gave rise to the *Shu'ubiyyah*² movement in the cultural and the mystic ideology in the religious sphere.

1. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* p. 100.

2. For details about the *Shu'ubiyyah* movement see, *Essays Indian and Islamic* Khuda Bakhsh pp. 56-126,

It is significant that the main centres of mysticism during the early years of its development were Kufa and Basra, the two cantonment towns of Iraq, which had witnessed horrible scenes of Umayyad atrocities. Sensitive souls could not help being driven inwards and look elsewhere for spiritual solace.

In the later half of the 8th century we find persecution of the *Zindiqs*¹ and the revolts of Persian heretics (Sindbah 755-56; Ustadhis 766-8; the Veiled Prophet of Khorasan 777-80) who cloaked political and economic dissatisfaction under the guise of religion. The movement of the Mazdakite Babak (816-838 A.D.) and the Shu'ubiyyah controversy created an atmosphere which drove away "spirits of devotional character from the scenes of continual unrest to the blissful peace of an ever-deepening contemplative life."²

Growth of the mystic movement

Broadly speaking there were three distinct stages in the development and growth of the mystic movement in Islam: (1) Period of the Quietists, (2) Period of the mystic philosophers and (3) the period of the *Silsilahs*. During the period of the Quietists which roughly extends from 661 A.D. to 850 A.D., the mystic movement had an *individual* basis. Persons dissatisfied with conditions of the external world, retired into seclusion and cut themselves off from worldly attachment. The lives of these Quietists were cases of repentance (*tauba*). The mystical element of love and adoration, if not entirely absent, was secondary and unstressed³. They laboured under a deep and disturbing consciousness of sin. To them this world was transitory and deceitful. They were terribly afraid of the world to come. Imam Hasan Basri (ob. 728), Ibrahim b. Adham (ob. 777 A.D.), Abu Hashim (ob. 777) and Rabia Basri (ob. 776) belong to this Quietist school of mysticism.

In the last half of the 9th century mystic sects (*garoh*, *mazhab*) appeared. They were concerned with the problem of mystic metaphysics. The founders of these sects were men of great learning and produced enormous literature on mystic subjects. They specialised in *risalahs* or short treatises on special topics. Though these *risalahs*, written in Arabic, contained valuable discussions yet a consistent mystic philosophy had not developed. Ma'ruf

1. "The polemics of the conservatives describe as a *zindiq* or free thinker any one whose external profession of Islam seems to them not sufficiently sincere." (Massignon). The word was used for the first time in 742 A.D. in connection with the execution of Ja'd b. Dirham. The Sufis were also persecuted as *zindiqs*. See Louis Massignon's article on *Zindiq* in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 1228-1229.

2. *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, Mohd. Iqbal, p. 99.

3. *Mohammadanism*, Gibb, p. 133.

Karkhi introduced the doctrine of *total forgetfulness*, while Sari Saqti (ob. 870 A.D.) that of *Tauhid* (Oneness). Zunnun Misri (ob. 859 A.D.) formulated the doctrines of *hal* (state) and *maqam* (stage). Mansur Hallaj (ob. 921 A.D.) introduced the pantheistic element in Islam. He mixed up un-Islamic doctrines with Sufism, such as *hulul* (fusion), *ittihad* (union), *tanasukh* (transmigration), *rijat* (return), etc. These doctrines formed the subject of large Arabic manuals that appeared in the succeeding centuries.

Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri (ob. 1072), enumerates twelve schools, or rather tendencies, among the mystics of his day. "The whole body of aspirants to Sufism," he writes in his *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, "is composed of twelve sects or schools (*garoh, mazhab*), two of which are condemned (*mardud*) while the remaining ten are approved (*maqbul*)."

- (1) The *Hululis* (Transmigrationists or reincarnationists);
- (2) *Hallajis* followers of Mansur Hallaj.
- (3) *Taifuris* followers of Shaikh Abu Yazid Taifur Bustami. They considered *rapture* superior to *sobriety*.
- (4) *Qussaris* followers of Abu Saleh Hamdun bin Ahmad al-Qussar. They put forward the *doctrine of blame*. Later they came to be known as *Malamatis*.
- (5) *Kharrazis* followers of Abu Sa'id Kharraz. They propounded the doctrine of *fana* (annihilation) and *baqa* (subsistence).
- (6) *Khufaijis* followers of Abu 'Abdullah Mohd. bin Khafif Shirazi. They introduced the doctrine of *huzur* (presence) and *ghaib* (absence).
- (7) *Sayyaris* followers of Abul 'Abbas Sayyar, the Imam of Merv. They enunciated the doctrine of *shauq* (joy) and *alam* (gloom).
- (8) *Muhasibis* followers of Abu 'Ubeid-ullah Hariz bin Asadul Muhasibi. They laid down precepts for taking stock of one's self, and understanding one's *maqam* and *hal* (permanent and temporary states).
- (9) *Tustaris* followers of Sahl bin 'Abdullah Tuster. They drew attention to the necessity of controlling, punishing or satisfying the lower soul (*nafs*).
- (10) *Hakimis* followers of Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad bin Hakim al Tirmizi. They affirmed the doctrine of saintship (*wilayat*) and marked out territories within a mystic's

- jurisdiction as *wilayat*. Hakim Tirmizi graded and classified the mystics and their jurisdictions.
- (11) *Nuris* followers of Abul Hasan Nuri. They protested that the real object of *tasawwuf* was superior to *faqr* which was only a means to an end. He preferred *suhbat* (society) to *'uzlat* (solitude).
- (12) *Junaidi* followers of Shaikh Junaid of Baghdad¹. They believed in sobriety (*sahv*) and kept aloof from rapture (*sukr*). They claimed to be absolutely orthodox in matters of religion².

After these sects, appeared mystic philosophers who consolidated the doctrines of the above mentioned schools along with other religious and mystic ideas into a consistent mystic philosophy. Imam Ghazzali (ob. 1111 A.D.) was the second great scholar after Imam Qushairi (ob. 1074 A.D.) to write a systematic account of mysticism. According to Ibn Khaldun it was he who systematized *tasawwuf* into a science³. He defined a number of mystic terms and fixed their connotation more correctly and exhaustively than Imam Qushairi had done. He distinguished between *'ulama-i zahir* (externalist scholars) and *'ulama-i batin* (saints, mystics) and said that while the former proceed from *knowledge* to *action*, the latter proceed from *action* to *knowledge*⁴. Ghazzali taught that the intellect should be used to destroy trust in itself and that the only trustworthy knowledge was that gained through *experience*. The theological doctrines could not be proved by speculative methods; but only by the direct knowledge with which God floods the heart of the believer⁵.

In the 13th century there appeared three great figures—Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i 'Arabi (ob. 1248 A.D.), Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi (ob. 1234 A.D.) and Maulana Jalal u'd-din Rumi (ob. 1273 A.D.) who consolidated the thought of their predecessors and gave to mysticism a consistent philosophy, a discipline and a warm fund of emotions. All the three had met each other.

Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i 'Arabi propounded in his two famous works, *Futuhāt-i Makkiya*⁶ and *Fusus-ul Hikam*⁷, the philosophy of *Wahdat-*

1. For brief biographical notices of the saints referred to here, see the *Nafahat-ul Uns* of Maulana 'Abdur Rahman Jami.

2. *Kashf al-Mahjub*, (English translation by Nicholson), p. 150 *et seq.*

3. Cited by Shibli in *Al-Ghazzali*, p. 187.

4. Cited by Shibli in *Al-Ghazzali*, p. 187.

5. MacDonald's article on Ghazzali in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 146.

6. Printed in Bulaq in 1274 A.H., Cairo, 1329 A.H.

7. Printed with 'Abdur Razzaq Kashani's commentary in Cairo, 1309, 1321 A.H.

ul-Wujud (Unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world). He held that all Being is essentially one, as it is a manifestation of divine substance. There were mystics¹ before Ibn-i-'Arabi who had uttered phrases purporting to pantheism, but Ibn-i-'Arabi "was the first to interpret his own experience of *Tauhid* or Unity in such a way as to be intelligible to others²." His works exercised enormous influence on mystic thought in Islam³.

Ibn-i 'Arabi's works reached India very early. They came through 'Iraqi (ob. 1289 A.D.), a mystic poet, but it appears that the first reception was not very warm. However, soon afterwards commentaries on his works began to pour in and people began to take keen interest in his works⁴. Ibn-i Taimiyya's disciples reached India at a time when the country was in the grip of pantheistic doctrines. The policies of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Firuz Shah seem to have been very greatly influenced by these tendencies of the age.

Maulana Jalal-u'd-din Rumi, the famous author of the *Masnawi*, popularised pantheistic ideas through his warm and breathing verses. What people had refused to accept in prose they readily accepted in verse. Rumi's *masnawi* came to be regarded as the Persian recension of the *Quran*. We find his verses being recited in mystic circles of Delhi in the 14th century⁵.

Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi wrote his '*Awarif-ul Ma'arif*' which is a book of moderate or centrist mysticism and was, therefore, readily accepted by the mystics of all schools. '*Awarif*' contained exact explanations of the mystic terms and dealt with the principles of *Khanqah* organization and discipline. It had a practical bias and a practical value. The book was brought to India very early, probably by the disciples of the Shaikh himself. The Chishtis also prized it very greatly. Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i Shakar used to teach it to his elder disciples and a later mystic *tazkirah* attributes a summary of this work to him⁶.

Rise of the Silsilahs

By the middle of the 13th century mystic thought, both in prose and verse, had reached its finale. Since this development in the mystic thought

1. Bayazid Bustami (ob. 261 A.H./874 A.D.) exclaimed: 'Holy am I, how great is my glory'. Mansur (ob. 309 A.H./921 A.D.) declared: 'I am Truth'.

2. *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid*, Burhan Ahmad Faruqi p. 80.

3. For details about his life and works, see *Muhy-u'd-din Ibn al-Arabi*, Afifi.

4. For details about his influence on India, see my article *Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i-Arabi aur Hindustan*, published in the journal *Burhan* of Delhi (January 1950, pp. 9-25).

5. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 163.

6. *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, (MS)

had taken place in Muslim lands in the same generation which saw the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, mystic ideology was imported into India bodily in its developed form. The principles of the earlier mystics were explained, illustrated, re-stated and summarised, but no original contribution to mystic thought was made¹. But, so far as the practical application is concerned, India had much to contribute by developing the mystic *silsilahs* to a degree probably unknown in other lands. Here the abstract mystic principles were applied to concrete conditions of society and transformed into space-time forces.

The last and the most important phase in the development of Islamic mysticism was, of course, the rise of *silsilahs* in the 12th century. The utter ruin of Muslim social life—the degeneration of Muslim morals and the disintegration of Muslim soul—during the period preceding and following the sack of Baghdad by Hulagu came as a challenge to mystic thought. Would Muslim mysticism remain merely a cult for the interiorization of religious rites and lose its social value or would it organise a world-wide movement for the spiritual culture of humanity and thus save Muslim society from moral and spiritual inertia? The mystics chose the second alternative and concentrated all their energies on the regeneration of Muslim society. At a time when Muslim political power was at its lowest ebb and anarchy and indiscipline reigned supreme², they divided the universe into spiritual territories (*wilayats*)³ and with clearly marked out spheres of jurisdiction set out to revitalize the spiritual life of the Muslims. The spiritual orders (*silsilahs*) were effectively organized to meet the situation and *khanqahs*, which henceforth became an integral part of the mystic discipline, were established on an extensive scale.

The earliest mystic order was the *Qadiriya Silsilah* founded by Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani⁴ (1077-1166 A.D.), one of the most outstanding figures in the annals of Islamic mysticism. His sermons, collected in *Al-Fath-ur-*

1. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's (ob. 1624 A. D.) theory of *Wahdat-ush-Shuhud* (Unity of the phenomenal world) as opposed to the theory of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* (Unity of the phenomenal and the noumenal world), and Khwaja Mir Dard's (ob. 1776 A. D.) theory of *'Ilm-i-Ilahi Muhammadi* (knowledge of God based on the teachings of Muhammad) and his concept of *nur*, was, in fact a contribution to the mystic thought. But their works do not count for our period.

2. See 'Ata Malik Juwaini, *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* (Gibb Memorial Series), pp. 33-35.

3. "God has saints (walis)", writes Shaikh 'Ali Hajwiri, whom he has distinguished by his friendship and who are the rulers of His dominion... As to the saintly officers of the Divine court who are in charge of affairs, there are three hundred, known as *Akhyar*, forty others known as *Abdal*, seven others known as *Abrar*, four more known as *Autad*, three others known as *Nuqaba* and one other known as *Qutb* or Ghauth. These saints know each other and cooperate in their work." *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, pp. 213-314.

4. For biographical details see *Bahjat-ul-Asrar*, Shattanaufi (Cairo, 1304 A.H.)

Rabbani are, according to Prof. Margoliouth, "some of the very best in Moslem literature: the spirit which they breathe is one of charity and philanthropy."¹ It is strange that the *Qadiriya Silsilah* did not reach India during the Sultanate period. Respectful references to the saint are found in early religious literature, but his works did not reach India till the 17th century.

The *Silsilah-i-Khawajgan* comes next in point of time. It was founded by Khwaja Ahmad (ob. 1166), popularly known among the Turks as Ata Yasvi². Ata Yasvi was followed by another great saint, Khwaja 'Abdul Khaliq Ghajdavani³ (ob. 1179) who gave to his *silsilah* a distinct spiritual philosophy. Two centuries later there appeared Khwaja Baha-u'd-din Naqshband⁴ (ob. 1388) who utilized the traditions of Ata Yasvi and the teachings of Khwaja Ghajdavani and built up the structure of the *silsilah*. His contribution towards the consolidation and expansion of the *Silsilah-i-Khawajgan* was so great that after his death the *silsilah* came to be known as the *Naqshbandi order*, after his name. This *silsilah*, though one of the earliest in point of time, was the last to reach India.

The other important mystic order was the *Chishtia Silsilah*. It was founded in Chisht (a village near Herat) by Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami⁵ (ob. 940 A.D.) but was destined to develop and flourish in India. The pre-Indian history of the *silsilah* is obscure and indefinite. Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Sijzi brought it to India in the 12th century and established a Chishti mystic centre at Ajmer. Under his talented successors, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaikh Farid u'd-din Ganj-i Shakar and Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya the *silsilah* spread far and wide and many mystic centres were established from Ajodhan to Lakhnauti.

Another spiritual order which flourished in India simultaneously with the *Chishtia order* was the *Suhrawardia Silsilah*. It was founded by Shaikh Najib-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir Shuhrawardi⁶ (ob. 1169) a native of Suhraward,

1. *The Ency. of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 41.

2. Literally 'Ata means father in the Turkish language, but the term is used for eminent saints. Yasa was a town in Turkistan. For short biographical notice of the saint see *Rashahat*, al-Kashafi (Kanpur, 1912), pp. 8-9.

3. Ghajdavan was a town at a distance of 18 miles from Bukhara. For biographical notices, see *Nafahat-ul-Uns* Jami (Lucknow 1915) pp. 339-341; *Rashahat*, pp. 18-27.

4. For biographical notices, see *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, pp. 345-349; *Rashahat*, pp. 53-57.

5. For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 39-40; *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, p. 296.

6. For his life, see *Tabaqat-ul-Kubra*, As-Subki, Vol. IV, p. 256; see *Wafayat-ul-A'yan*, Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 299; *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, pp. 456-458.

a town in Jibal, the ancient Media; but was developed by his nephew, Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi¹ (ob. 1234). He sent many of his disciples to India² but Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya alone succeeded in firmly establishing the *silsilah* in India, particularly in Multan and Sind.

Two other *silsilahs*—the *Firdausia* and *Shattaria*—also reached India during the Sultanate period, but they did not make any important contribution during the period under review. The *Firdausi Silsilah* was founded by Shaikh Saif-u'd-din Bakharzi³, an eminent saint of Bukhara. His disciple Shaikh Badr-u'd-din of Samarqand⁴ introduced it in India. But the saints of this *silsilah* retired into Bihar, which was far removed from the main centres of Muslim culture during the Sultanate period. The *Shattari silsilah*⁵ was brought to India by Shah 'Abdullah (ob. 1485) during the Lodi period. It attained an ephemeral and short-lived importance during the reign of the early Timurids.

Establishment of Khanqahs

With the rise of these *silsilahs*, the establishment of *khanqahs* on a large scale became imperative. Though the first *khanqah* was constructed early in the second century A.H. by Abu Hashim Sufi⁶, these early *khanqahs* could not develop into centres of the mystic movement. They remained private in character. From the 12th and 13th centuries onwards *khanqahs* become centres of mystic discipline and organization. They ceased to be simply 'places of private worship' and became the nuclei for the expanding movement of *Tasawwuf* and a forum for the discipline of the corporate life of the mystics.

The establishment of *khanqahs* was based on the conviction that a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation was incompatible with the highest mystic ideals because it made man ego-centric, limited his sympathies and cut him off completely from the energizing currents of social life. "In constructing *khanqahs*," writes Shaikh 'Izz u'd-din Mahmud, the Persian translator of the famous '*Awarif ul-Ma'arif*' of Shaikh Shihab u'd-din Suhrawardi, which was accepted by medieval Indian mystics as the best guide book for the organizers of *khanqahs*, "there are several advantages... First it provides shelter for mystics who do not possess any house of their own...

1. For brief biographical account, see *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, p. 420.

2. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, Shaikh 'Abdul Haq, p. 36.

3. For his life see *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, p. 791; *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, pp. 385-386; *Habib-us-Siyar*, p. 36.

4. *Akhbar-ur-Akhyar*, p. 115.

5. For short history of the *Silsilah* see *Medieval India Quarterly* Vol. I, part 2.

6. *Nafahat-ul-Uns*, pp. 31-32.

Secondly, by gathering at a place and mixing with each other, the mystics get an opportunity of regulating their life and developing uniform inward and outward ways... Thirdly, in this way they get an opportunity of criticising and mending each other's ways."¹ In fact, when men of different temperaments and attitudes assembled in these *khanqahs*, all tensions, conflicts and complexes in their character were resolved and their personalities were moulded in consonance with the spirit of the *silsilah*. Common penitences and sufferings drew out the noblest qualities of their souls and made them understand what Carlyle calls the 'divine significance of life'.

Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi found sanction for the establishment of *khanqahs* in the Quranic verses S. XXIV, 36-37², and laid down the following fundamental principles for the mystics entrusted with the task of organizing *khanqahs*³:

- (i) The people of the *khanqahs* should establish cordial relations with all men (*khalq*).
- (ii) They should concern themselves with God, through prayers, meditation, etc.
- (iii) They should abandon all efforts at earning a livelihood and should resign themselves to the will of God.
- (iv) They should strive for the purification of their inner life.
- (v) They should abstain from things that produce evil effects.
- (vi) They should learn the value of time.
- (vii) They should completely shake off indolence and lethargy.

The *Ahl-i-Khanqah* (people of a *khanqah*) were divided into two categories: permanent residents (*muqiman*) and travellers (*musafirin*). A traveller desiring to stay in a *khanqah* was expected to arrive there before the 'asr prayers. If he arrived late, he was advised to pass the night in some mosque and join the *khanqah* the next day. As soon as a guest arrived he was expected to offer two genuflections of prayer and then greet the residents of the *khanqah*. If the visitor decided to stay on after the third day, he had to undertake duties in the *khanqah* and help the inmates in their day-to-day work. The servants of the *khanqah* were instructed to show extreme hospitality to all guests and were strictly warned against ridiculing those who were ignorant of the mystic customs and conventions⁴.

1. *Misbah-ul-Hidayah* (Lucknow edition, 1322 A.H.) pp. 118-19.

2. *'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif* (Urdu translation, Lucknow 1926), p. 123.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 126-127.

4. *Misbah-ul-Hidayah*, p. 119.

The permanent residents of the *khanqah* were divided into three grade : *Ahl-i-Khidmat*, *Ahl-i-Suhbat* and *Ahl-i-Khalwat*, according to their standing and the nature of duties assigned to them¹.

Strict discipline was maintained in the *khanqah* and elaborate rules were laid down for the guidance of the inmates: How to talk to the Shaikh; how to deal with visitors; how to sit in the *khanqah*; how to walk; how and when to sleep; what dress to wear—on these and similar other topics minute instructions were given to the people of *khanqah*². The Shaikh sternly dealt with those inmates who were found guilty of the slightest irregularity³.

If a *khanqah* had no endowment (*waqf*) for its maintenance, the Shaikh could either instruct his disciples to earn their livelihood or permit them to beg or ask them to sit in the *khanqah* resigned to His will. If a *khanqah* had no Shaikh but was run by a group of men of equal spiritual status (*ikhwan*), the same three courses were open to them⁴.

Spiritual mechanics

Mar'ifat (gnosis) being the *summum bonum* of a mystic's life, methods were explored through which *wasl* (union) was possible. Heart (*qalb*) was considered the only medium which could set the Finite in tune with the Infinite. Every *silsilah* consequently developed its own methods for training the heart. Shah Wali-ullah points out that in prescribing these methods, the saints of the various schools took into consideration the temperament of the people living in a particular region.

1. *Ibid*, pp. 120-121.

2. Vide Shaikh Najib u'd-din 'Abd al-Qahir Suhrawardi, *Adab-ul-Muridin*; 'Awarif-ul-Ma'arif, part I, chapters XIII, XIV, XV, XVIII, XX, Part II, first ten chapters; *Misbah-ul-Hidayah*, Chapters V, VI, VIII. There is hardly any aspect of *Khanqah* life on which elaborate instructions are not found in these works.

3. Only one instance. Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Gharib, a senior disciple of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, was in charge of the kitchen in the *khanqah* of the Shaikh. On account of pain in his leg (he was 70 at that time), he folded a blanket and sat leaning on it in front of his visitors. When the Shaikh came to know of it he was deeply annoyed. When Burhan-u'd-din, as usual, came to pay his respect to the Shaikh, the latter did not talk to him. Burhan-u'd-din kissed his master's feet and came down to the *jama'at khanah*. He had hardly taken his seat when the personal attendant of the Shaikh conveyed to him the Shaikh's order that he was to leave the *khanqah* at once. Overwhelmed with grief, he went to the house of a disciple of the Shaikh but after two days he requested him to leave his house. A person in disfavour with the Shaikh would not be entertained by anyone else. Burhan-u'd-din went back to his own house, dejected, grief-stricken and morose. Friends tried to console him but the shock of being expelled from the *jama'at khanah* was too severe for him. Amir Khusrau represented his case to the Shaikh but failed to secure his pardon. At last Amir Khusrau appeared before the Shaikh, wrapping his turban round his neck, as criminals do when they give themselves up to justice. The Shaikh was touched by this sight. He asked Khusrau what he wanted. Khusrau requested the Shaikh to forgive Burhan-u'd-din. The Shaikh consented and it was only then that Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din could re-enter the *khanqah*, See *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 278-282.

4. *Misbah-ul-Hidayah*, pp. 121-122.

When a person desired to be initiated into a *silsilah* he gave his hand in the hands of the Shaikh and repented for his past sins (*tauba*) and promised to lead a chaste and pure life in future. Sometimes the head of the new entrant was shaved. Sometimes a cap was placed on his head.

The following were the methods adopted in order to harness all feelings and emotions to establishing communion with *Allah*:

1. *Zikr-i Jahr* . . . reciting the names of Allah loudly, sitting in the prescribed posture at prescribed times.
2. *Zikr-i Khafi* . . . reciting the names of Allah silently.
3. *Pas-i Anfas* . . . regulating the breath.
4. *Maraqbah* . . . absorption in mystic contemplation.
5. *Chillah* . . . Forty days during which a mystic confines himself to a lonely corner or cell and devotes himself to contemplation.

Some mystics emphasized the efficacy of audition parties (*Sama'*) in the formation of a spiritual personality. Songs, they said, not only relieved the strain on a man's emotions, but quickened his emotional response and attuned his heart to the Infinite and the Eternal. *Sama'* or *qawwali*, consequently, became one of the popular institutions of medieval mysticism and the common man, incapable of comprehending the mystic principles at a higher level, readily accepted its ceremonial aspect. If its metaphysics attracted the higher intellects, the mystic ceremonials—*sama'*, '*urs*', *langar*, etc.—drew to its fold the common man who looked upon the mystic more as a blessed miracle worker than the teacher of a higher morality.

India During the 13th Century

CHAPTER I

INDIA ON THE EVE OF THE TURKISH INVASIONS

Harsha's death in 647 A.D. marks the end of an epoch in Indian history. He had effectively consolidated his power and had succeeded in establishing a strong centralised monarchy. As soon as he closed his eyes in death, centrifugal tendencies appeared and the Empire broke into small fragments, the *Desas*. New social and political forces altered the pattern of existing institutions and brought about a radical change in the life and conditions of the people of Hindustan. The rise of Rajput aristocracy introduced a new and a virile element in the body politic, while the decline of Buddhism and the Brahmanic revival set the tone of society.

When the Turkish military operations started India was nothing more than a medley of principalities¹ wedded to a policy of eternal hostility and perpetual strife among themselves. "The boundaries of each State," writes Mr. Bandyopadhyaya, "varied with the success or failure of a ruling prince. Consolidation of authority or the building of a stable empire was beyond the comprehension or genius of these chiefs. War for military glory continued the end and aim of their existence."²

Of the new Rajput States that dominated the political scene, the Chahamanas ruled in Sambhar and Ajmer, the Paramaras in Malwa, the Kalachuris in Chedi, the Chandellas in Bundelkhand, the Chalukyas in Gujarat, the Gahadavalas in Kannauj, the Palas in Magadha, the Suras, and later the Senas, ruled in Western Bengal. Ambitious rulers of these dynasties constantly disturbed the political equilibrium of the country and strove to impose their suzerainty upon weaker princes. Political anarchy and disunity was, thus, the keynote of Indian political life when the Turks threatened to liquidate the Rajput State-system in India.

The Political Structure

The Rajput king was a hereditary sovereign and exercised unlimited and autocratic authority. He claimed divine origin and traced his descent from the sun or the moon. "Despotic as the rulers were, they were bound by the Smriti-made law and could not thus add to the evils of despotic

1. In the Yewur inscription of the Chalukyas of the Deccan (*I.A.* Vol. VIII, p. 18) the number of kingdoms is given as 59.

2. *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, N.C. Bandyopadhyaya (Calcutta, 1938), p. 161.

legislation.”¹ A number of ministers were appointed to assist the monarch in administering the country. The titles of some of these ministers are found in the inscriptions of the period but most of the discussions about their functions and duties are based on mere speculation. It appears that their numbers, titles, and duties differed from state to state². Though generally these ministers were appointed and dismissed at the pleasure of the king, in some cases, however, they played the role of king-makers. The Kalachuri records inform us that Kokalla II was raised to the throne by *amatyamukhyas* (ministers)³. The *dharmakaramadhikari* was in charge of religious endowments⁴. A striking feature of the Sena administration was the political influence of the queen and the *purohita*⁵.

The Rajput government was typically feudal in character. The kingdom was divided into fiefs held by the members of the ruling house, the *kulas*. This system, instead of strengthening the political fabric, divided its resources and rendered it practically impossible for the various State-governments to pursue any definite and consistent policy or introduce any uniformity in administration. It is said about the *Maharajaputra Yuvaraja* Govindachandra that without the permission of the king he made a very large number of land grants⁶. Thus the Rajput political system and its feudal character tended more towards disunity and decentralization than towards political integration or solidarity.

The chief source of income of the Rajput rulers was, of course, the land revenue but other taxes were also imposed. These taxes varied from state to state. The *Arthashastra*, however, refers to the following sources of income:

Forts; country parts; mines; buildings and gardens; forests; herds of cattle; roads; tolls; fines; weights and measures; town clerk; superintendent of coinage; superintendent of seals and passports; liquor; slaughter of animals; threads; oil; ghee; sugar; state goldsmiths; warehouse of merchandise; prostitutes; gambling; building sites; corporation of artisans and handicraftsmen; superintendent of gods; taxes collected at the gates; produce from crown lands; portion of produce payable to the government religious taxes; *kara*

1. *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vaidya, Vol. II, p. 225.

2. The Bengal inscriptions refer to the following ministries: (1) Rajamatya, (2) Purohita, (3) Mahadharmadhyaksha, (4) Mahasandhivigrahika, (5) Mahasenapati, (6) Mahamudradhikarita, (7) Mahakshapatalika, (8) Maha-pratihara, (9) Mahabhogika and (10) Mahapilupati. (*Ep. Indica* XIV, p. 159). In Gahadavala grants the following officers are mentioned: (1) Mantri, (2) Purohita, (3) Pratihara, (4) Senadhipati, (5) Bahndagarika, and (6) Akshapatalika. For the Chedi inscription of Karna and the ministers mentioned therein, see *Epi. Indica*, XI, p. 41.

3. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 274.

4. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 274.

5. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 277.

6. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 276.

(taxes paid in money); merchants; superintendent of rivers, ferries, boats and ships; towns; pasture grounds; road cess; ropes; ropes to bind thieves; all produce from mines; corals, conch shells, etc.; gardens of flowers, fruits, and vegetables; fields; forests for game, timber and elephants; herds of cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, horse, and mules; land and water-ways; compensation for damages; and property of men dying without heirs etc.¹

The state had a right to *vishti*, i.e., forced labour².

For purposes of revenue administration each kingdom was divided into districts called *Bhukti* in the north, *Mandala* in Malwa and *Rashtra* in the Deccan.

The Social Structure

(a) *The caste system:*

The principle of caste formed the basis of the Indian social system in the 11th and 12th centuries. Whatever the circumstances under which the system originated, it had resulted in the total annihilation of any sense of citizenship or of loyalty to the country as a whole. The demoralization that it had brought in its wake, both from the individual and the community points of view, was terrible in its proportions. Recounting its baneful effects on individual life, Dr. Beni Prasad remarks: "In the exaltation of the group it (caste system) largely sacrifices the individual values. It strikes at the root of individuality and amounts almost to a denial of personality. It refuses to admit that every individual is, in his nature, universal and that he has the right to seek his own self-expression, to determine his own ambitions and pursue his own interests. The principle of caste is the negation of the dignity of man as man."³

On the top of the Indian society there were four *varnas* or castes—Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Much, however, as these classes differed from each other, they lived together in the same towns and villages⁴.

(b) *The Brahman and his privileged position:*

The Brahman was assigned the highest place in medieval Hindu society. He was, in the words of Manu "the lord of (all) castes (*varna*)⁵." Everything existed for him, and Manu had declared:

99: A Brahmana coming into existence is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law.

1. *Arthashastra*, pp. 63-64.

2. *History of Medieval India*, Vaidya, Vol. II, p. 234. Kalhana writes about Sankaravarman, "Thus he introduced the well-known (system of forced) carriage of loads which is the harbinger of misery for the villages and which is of thirteen kinds." *Rajatarangini*, A. Stein, Vol. I, Book V, pp. 209-210.

3. *The State in Ancient India*, p. 12.

4. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 101.

5. *Manu*, Chapter X, pp. 401-402.

100: Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana; on account of the excellence of his origin the Brahmana is, indeed entitled to it all¹.

Religion was the exclusive monopoly of the Brahman. He not only administered to the religious needs of the people but stood like an intermediary between God and man. Alberuni informs us that only the Brahmans and the Kshattriyas could learn the *Vedas* and, therefore, the *moksha* was meant for them alone². It appears that Manu had permitted the study of the *Vedas* to the three *varnas*, though teaching it was the exclusive monopoly of the Brahman.

1. Let the three twice born castes (*varana*) discharging their (prescribed) duties, study (the *Veda*); but among them the Brahmana (alone) shall teach it, not the other two; that is the established rule³.

Apart from the pre-eminent position that they enjoyed in the social and religious life of the people, the Brahmans were exempt from the payment of all taxes⁴. Lucrative and profit-making professions were not closed to them. A Brahman could try his fortune at trading in cloth or betel nuts, but it was preferable that he did not engage in trade in person but employed a Vaishya to do it for him.

Even amongst the Brahmans themselves the idea of theological contamination was very acute. Every Brahman was required to have his separate drinking vessels and eating utensils; if any other person used them they were broken. "I have seen," says Alberuni, "Brahmans who allowed their relatives to eat with them from the same plate but most of them disapprove of this." Hindu law had permitted the Brahmans to marry women of other castes, but Alberuni tells us: "In our time the Brahmans, although it is allowed to them, never marry any woman except of their own caste⁵."

The life of a Brahman fell into four stages—(a) *Brahmacharya* (8th to the 25th year) to be spent in the study of *Veda* and devotion to the master. (b) *Grihastha* (25th to 50th year) to be spent in married life. (c) *Vanaprastha* (upto the 75th year) when the Brahman quits his household and dwells outside the bonds of civilization and leads a life of abstinence as in the first period. (d) *Sannyasa*, when he wears saffron garments and, remaining indifferent to worldly life, strives for *moksha*. (e) Lastly there was the

1. *Manu*, Chapter I, pp. 24-26.

2. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 104. The view of the Hindu philosophers was, however, different. According to them "liberation is common to all castes and to the whole human race, if their intention of obtaining it is perfect."

3. *Manu*, Chapter X, p. 401.

4. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 132.

5. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 156.

state of *Maha-atma* (the great *rishi*), which meant that he had realized *moksha*.

The third and the fourth stages of a Brahman's life were spent in itineracy. Strict limits were, however, imposed on his wanderings during the time of Alberuni. "The Brahmana is obliged," says Alberuni, "to dwell between the river Sindh in the north and the river Carmavati in the south. He is not allowed to cross either of these frontiers so as to enter the country of the Turk or of the Karanata. Further, he must live between the ocean in the east and west. *People say that he is not allowed to stay in a country in which the grass which he wears in his ring-finger does not grow, nor the black haired gazelles graze... If he trespasses them he commits a sin.*¹" Thus religious tradition had imposed restrictions on a Brahman's cultural and intellectual contact with the world outside and had made him deeply ego-centric and insular in his attitude. An inevitable corollary of this attitude was the spirit of self-complacency and intellectual arrogance which characterized the relations of the Indians with all foreigners. "The Hindus believe", writes Alberuni, "that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no science like theirs." This was an unfortunate development of later days for Alberuni informs us: "Their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation."

(c) *The Kshattriyas:*

The *Kshattriyas* came next in the scale of social hierarchy. Though not entitled to officiate as a priest, they were permitted to perform the Puranic rites. "Their degree is not much below that of Brahma", Alberuni informs us, "he rules the people and defends them, for he is created for this task²."

(d) *The Vaishyas and the Sudras:*

The two twice-born castes, i.e., the Brahmans and the Kshattriyas were the exclusive heirs to the spiritual and intellectual achievements of Hinduism. The remaining two castes—i.e. the *Vaishyas* and the *Sudras*—were assigned a lower place in the social hierarchy. "The descendants of the Vaisyas", writes R.C. Dutt, "who had an equal right with Brahmans to learn and recite the *Veda* and to sacrifice to the fire, came, after the religious and political revolutions of the ninth and tenth centuries, to be classed with and considered unworthy of religious knowledge⁴." The duty of a *Vaishya* was to devote himself to agriculture, cattle-breeding and busi-

1. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, pp. 133-134.

2. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 101.

3. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 104.

4. *Later Hindu Civilization*, p. 195.

ness, either on his own behalf or on behalf of a Brahman. "The Sudra is a servant of the Brahman, taking care of his affairs and serving him¹." The *Sudras* and the *Vaishyas* were deprived of all sacred knowledge. If any member of these castes dared to hear, pronounce or recite Vedic texts, he was hauled up by Brahmans before magistrates who ordered his tongue to be cut out². Since the Vedas and their *Angas* included all the literature and sciences of the country—grammar, versification, arithmetic, etc.—the law thus effectually forced the rest of mankind to live in ignorance.

(e) *The masses:*

Below these *varnas* (castes) was the non-descript mass of humanity, known as *Antyaja*. The *Antyaja* were not reckoned amongst any caste, but were members of a certain craft or profession. There were eight classes or guilds of them: (1) fuller; (2) shoemaker; (3) juggler; (4) basket and shield maker, (5) sailor; (6) fisherman; (7) hunter of wild animals, and (8) weaver. They could freely intermarry with each other except the fuller, shoe-maker and the weaver. They lived near the villages or towns of the four castes "but outside them³."

(f) *The workers:*

The position assigned to the workers and artisans was deplorable in certain respects. Kautilya declares: "Thus traders, artisans, musicians, beggars, buffoons and other idlers *who are thieves in effect*, though not in name, should be restrained from oppression on the country⁴," and included a chapter in his work on "*Protection against artisans*⁵."

Kautilya's regulations relating to the weavers, washermen, goldsmiths, scavengers, physicians and musicians reveal the general attitude of the governing classes towards the workers and the artisans. During the time of Alberuni their condition was much worse than during the time of Kautilya. "If any body wants," writes Alberuni, "to quit the works and duties of his caste and adopt those of another caste, even if it would bring a certain honour to the latter, it is a sin⁶."

The lowest people were *Hadi*, *Doma*, *Candala*, and *Badhatau*. They were assigned dirty work like cleaning of the villages and other services.

1. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 136.

2. *Alberuni's India*, p. 125.

Dr. Beni Prasad thus comments on this passage:

"From the mention of the Vaishya, the whole passage smacks of exaggeration, but certainly has a substratum of fact in it." *State in Ancient India*, p. 446.

3. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 101.

4. *Arthashastra*, p. 250.

5. *Arthashastra*, Book IV, Chapter I, p. 245 et seq.

6. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 103.

“In fact”, observes Alberuni, “they are considered like illegitimate children¹,” and are treated as “outcasts².” Alberuni’s statements are borne out by the code of Manu in which the position of this class is thus explained:

The dwellings of the Chandalas and Schwapachas shall be outside the villages, they must be made *Apapatras*, and their wealth (shall be) dogs and monkeys. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron, (shall be) their ornaments and they must always wander from place to place. A man who fulfils a religious duty, shall not seek intercourse with them; their transactions (shall be) among themselves, and their marriages with their equals...at night they shall not walk about in villages and in towns. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks at the king’s command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relatives; that is a settled rule³.

(g) *The idea of physical contamination:*

This insular social behaviour of the Indian people rendered the social structure invertebrate and rickety. Whatever little semblance of corporate spirit this social system possessed was crushed by the idea of physical contamination. Alberuni who took “pains to study that civilization and literature in a catholic spirit⁴,” has noted with disgust and amazement the working of this idea in the social life of the people. If a Hindu warrior was taken as prisoner by the Mussalmans, and was subsequently released, he was disowned by his caste or guild. “I have repeatedly been told”, writes Alberuni, “that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation; then they bury them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similiar dirt to eat, and more of the like. I have asked the Brahmans if this is true, but they deny it and maintain that there is no expiation possible for such an individual and *that he is never allowed to return into those conditions of life in which he was carried off as a prisoner*. And how should that be possible? If a Brahman eats in the house of a Sudra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it⁵.” These prisoners, disowned by their own community, often embraced Islam.

1. *Alberuni’s India*, Vol. I, p. 101.

2. *Alberuni’s India*, Vol. I, p. 102.

3. *Manu*, Chapter X, Sections 51-55.

4. *Later Hindu Civilization*, R.C. Dutt (Calcutta), 1909, p. 192.

5. *Alberuni’s India*, Vol. II, p. 163.

The Legal Structure

The legal system of the Hindus is embodied in (a) the *Dharma-Sutras* (aphorisms of law of the different schools), (b) the *Dharma-Sastras* (codes of law attributed generally to sages) and (c) commentaries and treatises by Hindu *jurisprudentes*. Amongst these codes, the codes of Manu and Yajnavalkya are pre-eminent. The former is supposed to be the foundation of the whole orthodox system of Hindu law; the latter is the binding law of the majority of Hindus¹. But our knowledge of the operative part of Hindu law, i.e., the law as it worked in the 11th and 12th centuries, is very meagre.

Alberuni says that the Hindus believed their religious law and its simple precepts to be derived from Rishi. "Further no law can be exchanged or replaced by another, for they use the laws simply as they find them²." A co-ordination of the legal maxims contained in these law books with the account of Alberuni, can give us some idea of the Hindu legal structure of those days.

(a) Family Law and the Law of Inheritance:

Manu speaks contemptuously about women and attributes all sorts of impure desires, bad conduct and malice to them³. Marriage was considered a necessity and if a girl remained unmarried for some time, she became a *Sudra*—(*Vrsati*)⁴. It was laid down that a husband should never have intercourse with a wife who gave birth only to daughters⁵. Divorce was not permitted⁶. Widow marriage was forbidden⁷, while to remain widower was prohibited⁸. The number of wives that a man could have depended upon his caste—a Brahman could take four, a *Kshatriya* three, a *Vaishya* two wives and a *Sudra* one only⁹.

Intermarriages were legally allowed so long as a man did not marry a woman of a lower caste. "If twice born men wed women of their own and of other (lower castes), the seniority, honour and habitation of those (wives) must be settled according to the order of the caste (*varna*)", declares Manu¹⁰.

1. *Manu and Yajnavalkya*, a basic Study of Hindu Law, by K. P. Jayaswal, p. XIX.

2. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 106-107.

3. *Manu*, Chapter IX, p. 330.

4. *Hindu Law and Custom*, Jolly, p. 119.

5. *Ibid*, p. 145.

6. *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 143; *Manu and Yajnavalkya*, p. 231.

7. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 155.

8. *Manu and Yajnavalkya*, p. 232.

9. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 155.

10. *Manu*, Chapter IX, pp. 342-34.

If this was not done the man was "as (despicable) as a Chandala (sprung from the) Brahman (caste)¹." Children of a Brahman by women of the three lower castes, of a Kshatriya by a wife of the two lower castes, and of a Vaishya by a Sudra woman, were all considered as base-born (*apasada*)².

(b) *The Penal Law:*

A society based on caste principles could not possibly avoid making discriminations on grounds of birth, sex and status.

The two higher castes were exempt from capital punishment under all circumstances³. The property of a Brahman or a Kshatriya, who was found guilty of murdering a Brahman or killing a cow or of drunkenness or incest, was confiscated and he was driven out of the country. K. P. Jayaswal writes: "A privilege is claimed in the Manava code which practically places him (Brahmin) above criminal penalty in felony. He is to be (1) allowed to leave the country, (2) without a wound on him and (3) with all his property, in proved offences of capital punishment. Neither forfeiture and fine, nor corporal punishment, is to be sentenced on him. He suffered only what Hobbes called 'a change of air' after having committed the most heinous crimes⁴."

These legal discriminations are best illustrated in punishments provided for slander which varied according to the status of the slanderer:

A Kshatriya deserves a fine of 100 when he has abused a Brahman; a Vaishya 150 or 200, respectively, and a Sudra, a torture.

When the once born man of Sudra and of the mixed, Sudra-like castes attacks a twice born with terrible language, his tongue deserves to be cut off, for he is of vile influence.

If he mentions the personal name and caste (in opposition), an iron nail, ten inches long, shall be thrust into his mouth, red hot.

A Brahman shall be fined 50 in abusing a Kshatriya; 25 in abusing a Vaishya, 12 in abusing a Sudra⁵.

In cases of theft, punishment was given as follows: In extreme cases the criminal, if a Brahman, was blinded and mutilated by the dismemberment of the left hand and right foot or of the right hand and left foot; a Kshatriya was mutilated but not blinded; and criminals of other castes were put to death⁶. The law of adultery also made discriminations

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Manu*, Chapter X, p. 404.

3. *Manu and Yajnavalkya*, Jayaswal, p. 85.

4. *Manu and Yajnavalkya*, K. Jayaswal, p. 85.

5. *Manu and Yajnavalkya*, p. 150.

6. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 162.

on grounds of caste. The following regulations of Manu deserve to be particularly noted in this connection:

359: A man who is not a Brahmana ought to suffer death for adultery (*Sangrahana*): for the wives of all the four castes must always be carefully guarded.

374: A Shudra who has intercourse with a woman of a twice born caste (*varna*) guarded or unguarded, shall be punished in the following manner: if she was unguarded, he loses the part (offending) and all his property; if she was guarded, everything (even his life).

375: (For intercourse with a guarded Brahmani) a Vaishya shall forfeit all his property after imprisonment for a year; a Kshatriya shall be fined one thousand (*panas*) and shall be shaved with the urine (of an ass).

376: If a Vaishya or Kshatriya has connection with an unguarded Brahmani, let him fine the Vaishya five hundred (*panas*) and the Kshatriya one thousand.

(c) *Legal Procedure:*

So far as the law courts were concerned, it was laid down that petitions should be entertained in the order of caste¹. Females and Chandalas were disabled from being witnesses in a law court².

This gloomy picture of Indian society in the 11th and 12th centuries should not, however, make one oblivious of the intellectual achievements of Hinduism in the preceding ages. Long before the advent of the Turks, Hindu contributions in the sphere of mathematics, astronomy, toxicology, chemistry, medicine, astrology, parables and politics had attracted the attention of the Arabs and large number of Sanskrit works on these subjects had been translated into Arabic. This glorious intellectual heritage of India was, however, not open to the Indian masses in the 11th and the 12th centuries. The Mussalmans brought with them, besides their own sciences, many of the sciences which they had initially borrowed from the Hindus.

1. *Manu and Yajnavalkya*, p. 115.

2. *Ibid*, p. 131.

CHAPTER II

ADVENT OF THE TURKS

Sind was the first territorial acquisition of the Mussalmans in India, though commercial and intellectual intercourse between the Arabs and the Indians had existed long before the Arab conquest of Sind and a number of Arab colonies had sprung up on the Indian coast¹. In 712 A.D. Muhammad b. Qasim overthrew the Brahmin dynasty of Sind and brought India definitely within the orbit of Muslim political ambitions. But the Arab conquest of Sind, its cultural significance notwithstanding, could not develop into a nucleus for the Muslim empire of Hindustan. Geopolitically it was devoid of all 'elements of expansion', while indifferent home government further froze its expansionist activity. Thrown exclusively on its own meagre resources, it failed to bring northern India under its aegis. The Gujara-Pratihara Empire doggedly checked the extension of Arab political influence in India and for sometime Sind had to stand on the defensive. It was with the rise of Ghaznin in the 10th century that Turkish pressure on the north western frontiers increased and India was faced with the danger of foreign invasions. Ghaznin was the symbol of a new imperialist movement in Central Asia aiming at the establishment of Turko-Persian hegemony over the lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Sabuktigin, a Turkish slave of Alptigin, consolidated his power around Ghaznin by conquering Lamaghan, a part of the sprawling Hindushahiyya kingdom, and Seistan on the Persian border. His son and successor, Sultan Mahmud (999-1030), continued the forward policy of his father and captured many frontier forts and strategic places which facilitated his future operations into the heart of Hindustan. During the thirty two years of his rule Mahmud invaded India more than seventeen times and though he carried his successful arms upto Muttra, Kannauj, Baran and Gwalior, he did not annex any area beyond the Ravi. In fact India had no place in his political ambition and his Indian expeditions were only a means to the establishment of the Turko-Persian Empire. However, his campaigns laid India open to foreign invasions and exposed the wealth and the weakness of the Indian ruling class. The Punjab became a part of the Ghaznavid Empire and, as such, the political frontier of Muslim power in India. During the century that followed

1. See, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Tara Chand, pp. 29-31; *Arab O Hind Kay Ta'lluqat*, Sulaiman Nadvi; *Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquest*, (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. VIII, p. 474 et seq; p. 600 et seq; Vol. IX, p. 144 et seq).

Mahmud's exploits in Hindustan, attempts were made for the extension of Muslim cultural and political influence towards the Gangetic plains and the Rajput territories. The suggestion that the Indian Rajas were taken unawares by the Ghurid armies is not correct. The Turkish danger had been increasing all through the preceding decades and the Indian States were making efforts—though individual and isolated—to combat the situation. The contemporary Muslim chronicles¹ and the Indian epigraphic evidence², throw considerable light on the ever-increasing concern of the Hindu States at the inroads of the Turks and the exploits of the Hindu Rajas in keeping the foreign invader—invariably referred to as '*Hammira*'—at bay. So grave, in fact, was the danger that a tax, *Turushkadanda*,³ was imposed by some of the States to meet the increasing cost of fighting the Turks⁴.

Muslim settlements before the Ghurid conquest

While the extension of Turkish political influence was stoutly resisted by the Rajputs⁵, the Muslim saints and mystics peacefully penetrated the country and settled at a number of important places. These Muslim migrants lived outside the fortified towns amongst the lower sections of the Indian population, firstly because of caste taboos, and, secondly, because of the facility of establishing contacts with the Indian masses. It appears that nearly half a century before the Ghurid conquest of northern India isolated Muslim culture-groups had secured a foothold in the country. Ibn-i Asir writes about Benares: "*There were Mussalmans in that country since the days of Mahmud bin Sabuktigin, who continued faithful to the law of Islam and*

1. *Tarikh-i-'Al-i Subuktigin*, pp. 497; 664-665; *Tabaqat-i- Nasiri*, pp. 14, 22.

2. *Indian Antiquary* 1889, pp. 14-19; *Epigraphia Indica* I, p. 62; *Indian Antiquary* XLL, pp. 17-18; See also *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV. and XVI (1936-1937): "*References to Mohammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Northern India (A.C. 730-1320)*".

3. There has been great controversy among historians about the exact nature of this tax. V.A. Smith (*Early History of India* 4th ed. p. 400) considers it to mean the tax levied to meet the cost of resisting the Turkish invaders. Sten Konow (*Epigraphia Indica* IX, p. 321) says that it was a tax imposed on the resident Muslim Turks, "a Hindu Jizya." Beni Prasad (*The State in Ancient India*, p. 448) writes: "It may refer to ransom-money which had to be paid to Turuskas or western invaders and which had to be raised from the whole population. As such it would correspond to the Danish tax levied in England for a while. Or it may mean a sort of poll tax imposed on Turuskas or settlers from the north west. There is no reason to suppose that Turuskas were settled in every place of which the grants mention the *Turushkadanda*". vide also, Ghoshal: *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, p. 263.

4. *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 113.

5. In an inscription of the Chauhana ruler, Chachigadeva of Nadol, dated 1162, reference is made to the defeat and destruction of a Turushka army by his ancestor, Anahilladeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 62-63; *Rajputana*, Ojha Vol. I, p. 269). His son Kalhana also destroyed a Turushka army, (*Ep. Indica*, Vol. XI, pp. 46-51). A mutilated inscription at Kiradu, near Mt. Abu, dated V.S. 1235/1178 A.D. records the repair of an idol temple broken by a Turushka army (*E. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 72).

*constant in prayer and good work*¹." At Bahraich was the mausoleum of Sayyid Salar Mas'ud who 'was a soldier in the army of Sultan Mahmud².' The fact that his name and his grave survived through long years between the Ghaznavid invasions and the Ghurid occupation of northern India, shows that there was some Muslim population to look after the grave and to preserve for posterity the tradition of Salar's martyrdom³. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti came to Ajmer before the second battle of Tarain⁴ and his deep humanism and pious way of life attracted a band of devoted followers round him. Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan Saghani, the famous author of *Mashariq-ul-Anwar*, was born in Bada'un⁵ long before the Ghurid occupation of that town. Recent researches have shown that there existed a Muslim colony in Qannauj before the Turkish conquest⁶. In some towns of U.P. and Bihar there are Muslim shrines which are attributed by local tradition to the pre-Ghurid period. The grave of Miran Mulhim in Bada'un,⁷ and of Khwaja Majd-u'd-din in Bilgram⁸, the grave on the Uncha Tilla Mohalla of Mallawan in Bilgram⁹, the *dargah* of Lal Pir in Azmat Tola at Gopamau¹⁰, the graveyard on the Bilsa Road in Bada'un¹¹, the *Ganj-i-Shahidan* of Asiwan in Unao¹², the graves in Jaruha near Hajipur in Bihar, the grave of Imam Taqi Faqih near the western gate of Bari-Dargah at Maner¹³—are all considered to belong to the pre-Ghurid period and some families living in these towns claim that their ancestors settled there during

1. *Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. II, p. 251.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 491.

All the legends and traditions about Sayyid Salar have been collected together by 'Abdur Rahman Chishti in his *Mir'at-i-Mas'udi*. See also *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Vol. XLV, 1921, pp. 117-119.

3. Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud was probably the first prince of the ruling house of Delhi who lived in Bahraich and under whose regime, according to Minhaj, Bahraich attained great prosperity. (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 208) But there is no reference to Salar Mas'ud in his account. Probably Muhammad bin Tughluq was the first Sultan of Delhi who visited the grave of the saint (*Barani*, p. 491).

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 46.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103.

6. *History of Kannauj*, R.S. Tripathi.

7. See *Kanz-ut-Tawarikh*, Razi-u'd-din pp. 51-53; *Tazkirat-u'l-Wasilin*, pp. 9-11; Iltutmish and Muhammad bin Tughluq put inscriptions on his grave (*District Gazetteers of the United Provinces*, Vol. XV. p. 190).

8. *District Gazetteer*, Hardoi, Vol. XLI, p. 178.

9. *Ibid.* p. 130.

10. *District Gazetteer*, Hardoi, Vol. XLI, p. 187.

11. *District Gazetteer*, Bada'un, Vol. XV, p. 190.

12. *District Gazetteer*, Unao, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 118.

13. See 'Hasan Askari's article: *Historical Significance of Islamic Mysticism in Medieval Bihar*, *Historical Miscellany*, pp. 10-11.

this period¹. Their claims may or may not be correct, but it is difficult to challenge the local traditions with regard to the historicity of these graves, particularly when they are corroborated by epigraphic evidence.

Ghurid conquest of Northern India

It was in the last quarter of the 12th century that the Ghurids turned their attention towards Hindustan. Shihab-u'd-din wrested Multan from the Carmathians in 1175. In 1178 he marched towards Anhilvara but long and arduous marches in the waterless Indian desert exhausted his army and he suffered a signal defeat at the hands of Mularaja II. "It was a defeat not only of his forces but also of his plans."² The annexation of the Ghaznavid Punjab now became an urgent strategic necessity for him. In 1179 he established himself in Peshawar and two years later he led an expedition to Lahore. He did not succeed in overthrowing Khusrau Malik but established a fortress at Sialkot. Seven years later he overthrew the Ghaznavid power in Lahore (1186). The conquest of Lahore provided him with a base of operations for launching his attacks against the Rajput kingdoms that lay across the Ravi. He was defeated in his first conflict with Prithvi Raja (1191 A.D.), but he reappeared the following year and defeated his Rajput adversary at the battlefield of Tarain. Two years later the kingdom of Kannauj was attacked and its ruler, Jaychandra, was defeated at Chanda-war (near Etawah). In 1202 Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Muhammad b. Bakhtiyar Khalji ravaged Bihar and established himself in Bengal. By the year 1206 when Shihab-u'd-din was assassinated at Damyak³ practically the whole of northern India from the Ravi to Assam was under Turkish domination. There were sporadic efforts by the displaced Ranas to regain their lost power and prestige, but these attempts could not crystallize into a movement of mass resistance against the foreign rule. The contemporary chronicles refer very often to 'conquest' and 'reconquest' of certain areas by the Turks—a fact which shows that helped by geographical factors and taking advantage of the pre-occupation of the Turkish warriors, the Rajput chiefs sometimes threw off the foreign yoke but they could not retain their independence for long. Perhaps the most difficult and the most disturbing situation for the Turks arose in 1196 when the Mher tribe, inhabiting the neighbourhood of Ajmer, entered into an alliance with the Chauhanas and the Chalukyas

1. See *District Gazetteer*, Hardoi, p. 225.

Tanqihul Kalam fi Tarikh-i-Bilgram, Munshi Mahmud Bilgrami (District Gazette Press, Aligarh, 1937).

2. *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Habibullah p. 53.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 124, For various controversies relating to the identification of the murderer, the place and date of assassination, see *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh) September 1943, pp. 219-228; *Burhan* (Delhi) January, 1956, pp. 17-29.

with the intention of expelling the Turks from Rajputana. Timely help from Ghaznin, however, saved the situation from taking a critical turn. So long as the administrative institutions of the Turks did not take a definite shape, the danger of Rajput revival and resistance continued to be a serious problem for the Sultans.

Causes of Ghurid success

Various reasons have been advanced to explain this phenomenal success of the Ghurid armies. Some of these theories represent only individual fads and are far from being rational explanations of the Turkish successes in India. The fact that as regards its extent, economic resources, and political prestige the kingdom of Ghur was smaller than most of the medieval Rajput states cannot be ignored. The Rajput was, in no way, inferior to the Turk in courage and spirit of sacrifice. Rajput heroism and chivalry were proverbial. The assertion that the Indians were defeated on account of their non-violent attitude towards political problems is contradicted by the history of the contemporary Rajput kingdoms. Far from being despised, war was the prevailing madness and the Rajput states were constantly quarelling with each other. The real cause of the defeat of Indians lay in their social system and the invidious caste distinctions which weakened their military organization and honeycombed their social structure. That patriotic fervour in which every citizen instinctively lays his hand on the sword-hilt in moments of national crisis was killed by these caste distinctions. The bulk of the Indian population was apathetic towards the fortunes of the ruling dynasties. No appeal from the Rajput governing classes could possibly receive sympathetic response from the vast mass of Indian population because there was no unifying bond, no idea of 'social oneness', no spirit of 'common citizenship' and no 'national consciousness'. Even religion was the monopoly of a particular section and the majority of the Indian people had never had a glimpse of an Indian temple. Fighting for the preservation of *Vedas* was completely out of question, for it was a sealed book for them and for hearing a single verse of its sacred text exemplary punishments were often inflicted on them. Manu's regulation:

"62: Dying, without expectation of a reward, for the sake of Brahmans and of cows or in the defence of women and children, secures beatitude to those excluded (from the Aryan community, *Vahya*)."¹

could hardly make amends for the disabilities imposed upon the non-caste

1. *Manu*, Chapter X, pp. 417-418.

Hindu population of medieval Hindustan. As was natural, the call from the fortified towns fell on deaf ears and failed to evoke any patriotic sentiment in the people who lived outside the city-walls under unenviable conditions. The forts consequently became a static defence and could not be linked up by any mobile striking force all around. Under a different social order these fortresses would have served as a fortified base of a very dynamic character, linking up all the striking forces to that centre. But taking things as they were, a siege very often resulted in a *Jauhar* by the besieged. Whatever resistance was offered, came from the privileged classes and the Rajput aristocracy. Had the Indian *masses* resisted the establishment of Turkish rule in India, the Ghurids would not have been able to retain even an inch of Indian territory. Commenting on the significance of the Ghurid conquest of northern India, Prof. Habib remarks: "*This was not a conquest, properly so called. This was a turn-over of public opinion—a sudden turn over, no doubt, but still one that was long overdue.*"¹

The caste-system had played havoc with the military efficiency of the Rajput states. Since fighting was the profession of a group, recruitment was confined to particular tribes or castes². All others were excluded from military training. Thus the bulk of the population was either incompetent or unwilling to join the defence forces. The Rajput soldier himself had to work under serious handicaps which made his position very weak on the battlefield. The idea of physical contamination must have made division of labour practically impossible. A soldier had to fight, had to fetch water for himself, prepare food, look after his utensils and do similar other works which in the Muslim ranks were performed by non-fighting groups. Caste rigours and the idea of physical pollution made swift movement of the forces almost impossible. The Rajputs, though known for their reckless bravery on the battlefield, never realised the truth of the Napoleonic dictum that in war all is mental. A sound military planning in which all possible eventualities and emergencies—falling in the hands of the enemy, minor reversals, etc.—are taken into consideration, had little meaning for the Rajput warrior who knew how to die but not how to win a victory. If he fell in the hands of the *mlechchah* but was subsequently released, he was doomed for ever. He was disowned by his own caste. He was physically alive but socially

1. Introduction to the Revised Edition of *Elliot and Dowson's History of India* (Vol. II) p. 52.

2. In view of what Alberuni has said about the working of caste system in India, it is difficult to agree with some modern writers who hold that the military profession was no monopoly of any particular caste (*Art of War in Ancient India*, P.C. Chakravarty, pp. 78-82; *The Military System in Ancient India*, B.K. Majumdar, p. 19).

and theologically he was dead. Naturally, therefore, where imprisonment of a few hundred or thousand warriors would have solved the problem, *Jauhars* were performed on a large scale and thousands of men and women were needlessly reduced to ashes¹. Whatever may be said about the spirit of chivalric heroism that inspired the performance of *Jauhar*, from the strictly military point of view, it was devoid of all practical wisdom. Instead of inspiring the survivors to stiffer and more sustained resistance, it made them either desperate or pessimistic. The report of every *Jauhar* performed in one fort would have broken the nerves of people living in the neighbouring forts.

Methods of Rajput warfare

Some reference may be made here to the Rajput methods of warfare. The Indians looked upon military art as merely an affair of personal combat at a time when the conception of the whole army as a repository of organized force had already gained ground. A careful study of the *Adab-ul-Harb wa-Shuja'at* reveals that the Turks knew how to organize and employ their army as one coordinate unit, with unity of purpose and unity of organization. The Rajput armies mainly consisting of feudal levies—raised by different Rajput leaders, trained under different conditions and employed on different terms—lacked unity of purpose and fought for individual glory. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir strikes a very significant note when he says: "A commander with a heterogeneous army consisting of soldiers (drawn from different sources)—hundred from here and hundred from there—cannot achieve anything. An army with so varied and so many component elements has never been able to achieve anything great²."

Much has been said about the destructive role of elephants in medieval Indian wars. In fact the Rajputs did nothing wrong when they used these elephants in their battles. Mahmud of Ghaznin had effectively used them in his campaigns against the Il-khans. Balban considered a single elephant to be as effective in battle as five hundred horsemen³. But when the Indians

1. Only once during the long and chequered history of Muslim rule in India do we find the Musalmans seriously thinking of performing *Jauhar*. When Nadir Shah invaded Delhi (1739), the Musalmans found themselves in a very difficult situation and decided to perform *Jauhar*. Shah Wali ullah dissuaded them from this rash act by narrating before them the events of the tragedy of Kerbala where the descendants of the Prophet, though in a minority, fought to the last valiantly and spiritedly. *Malfuzat-i-Shah-Abdul Aziz*.

2. *Adab-ul-Harb wa Shuja'at* (Rotograph of MS in British Museum) ff. 147 a, b. My friend and colleague Mr. 'Abdul Wahid Kureishy has edited this work for the History Department.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 53. For Amir Khusrau's praise of an elephant army, see, *Qir'an-us-Sa'dain* pp. 45-46.

gave them a pivotal place in the disposition of their armies, they made a serious mistake. This deprived their forces of that element of mobility which the Central Asian powers rightly emphasized to be the key to success. Huge and unwieldy phalanx of armies headed by elephants with gorgeous trappings, were bound to be signally beaten when face to face with a swift and easy-moving cavalry which could attack the flanks and rear of the enemy. From the military point of view it was the "Age of the Horse" and a well-organized cavalry alone could provide that weight of accumulated force and striking power which was needed to face the Turks who had kept themselves abreast of all developments in the art of war in the middle ages.

The superiority of the Turks in strategy and tactics was primarily due to their well-organized cavalry¹. "After their mobility", remarks R. C. Smail, "the second tactical characteristic of the Turks was their archery. They used the bow from the saddle, and shot without halting or dismounting. As a result they were able to combine their archery with tactical uses of their mobility ... Even in retreat they were able to turn in the saddle and shoot at their pursuers."² The Indian armies were seriously handicapped in this respect. Balban used to say: "I know well that no (Indian) ruler can raise his hand against the army of Delhi because the armies of the Rais and the Ranas though consisting of a lac *paiks* (footmen) and *dhanuks* (bowmen) cannot face my army. Barely six or seven thousand horsemen of Delhi are enough to ravage and destroy them"³. It is significant that in Sanskrit literature the Turkish Sultans of India are referred to as *Ashwapatis*, i.e., lords of horses. It was the Turk's chief title to greatness and glory and he did not hesitate in making it known through coins which passed through every Indian hand. In the earliest coins of the Delhi Sultans the horse is seen at full charge and the rider with upraised mace. To the Indian people the Turk was either "the lord of the horse" or "*Hammira*", and both these legends appear on the coins.

Social contrast

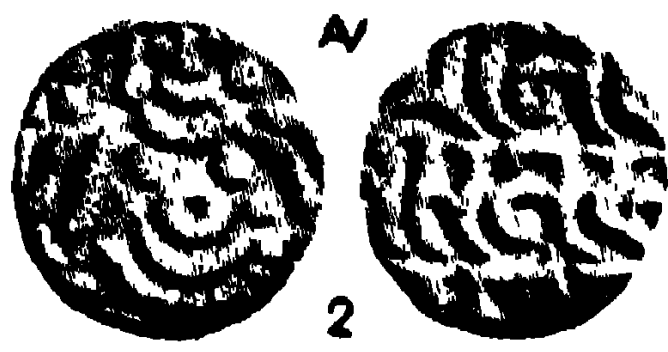
Besides the above, there were some other reasons which made the Indians accept the Turkish regime in India. One of the most powerful factors in that connection was the Muslim social order which contrasted

1. Ferishta says that Shihab-u'd-din invaded Lahore with twenty thousand *do-aspah*, *sih-aspah* cavalry, (Vol. I, p. 90). In his campaigns against the Indian Rajas he brought much larger cavalry.

2. *Crusading Warfare, A Contribution to Medieval Military History* pp. 80-81.

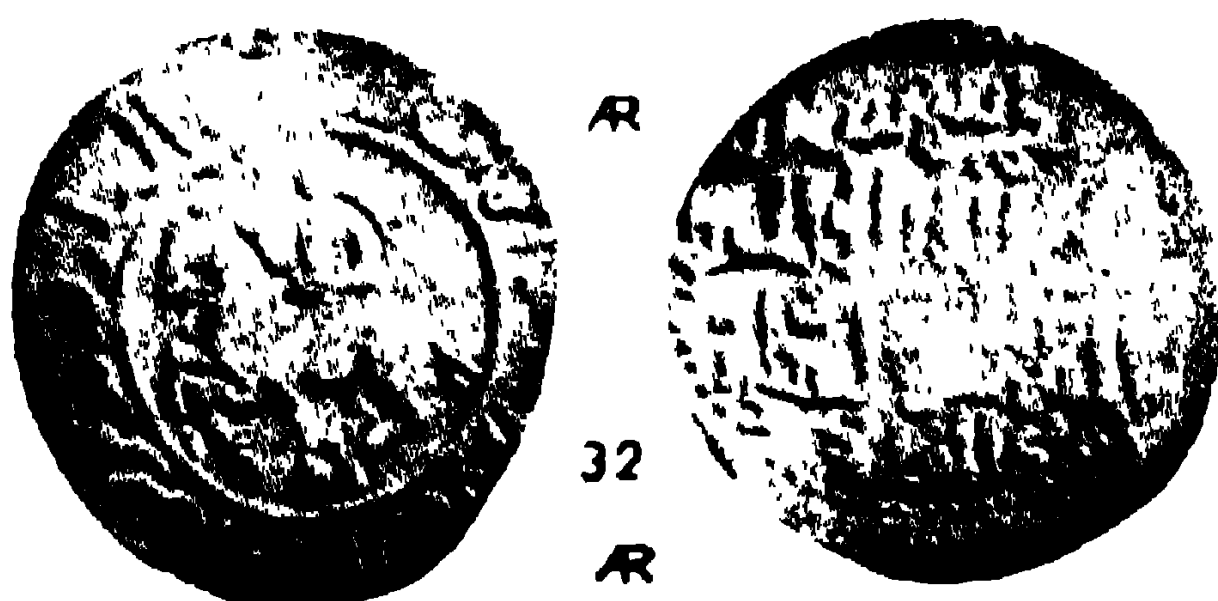
3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 52.

Gold coin issued by Shihab-u'd-din Muhammad Ghuri



contains rude representation of the goddess Lakshmi.

Silver coin issued by Iltutmish



'The form of the saddle, the seat of the horseman, the head armour of the steed and erect tail, all seem to point to Turki ideals.'

sharply with the caste-ridden social and legal structures of medieval Hindustan.

The idea of "social oneness" which was deeply imbedded in the religious thought of the Mussalmans, was a revolutionary force. The Allah of the Mussalmans was one. Salvation was open to all. All people, high and low, assembled at the same place and prostrated alike before the unseen God—a strange phenomenon for the Hindu masses of those days. They dined together and did not believe in the idea of theological contamination. Islam completely and unreservedly rejected the idea of 'superior birth'—the bedrock on which the entire social structure of medieval Hindustan stood. "All are sons of Adam and Adam was made of earth." The idea of being born from the sun or the moon, or the head or foot of Brahma, was meaningless in a Muslim society. Piety (*ittiqā*) was the only criterion of superiority and an ordained priesthood or a hereditary class of Brahmans was the very negation of the real spirit of Islam.

For the majority of Indian people the change from the Rajput to the Turk meant removal of all those disabilities and discriminations under which they had long suffered. The political organization which had strengthened the fabric of the caste-system yielded place to a new order in which every one acquired the same rights in the law courts. All disparities in the penal code disappeared. Trial by ordeal for the discovery and punishment of crime was definitely suppressed. The new government refused to recognize any caste distinctions or discriminations. All convictions were on the basis of evidence and grave suspicion concerning the character of the accused and his previous record. A *Sudra* became a free man. There were to be no gradations in punishments and the cases were not to be considered in any caste order. All persons guilty were punished in a uniform manner on the basis of state-laws. The Islamic law of evidence did not exclude any one from appearing in the witness box. The individuality of women was recognized. The civil law made no discriminations on grounds of sex, birth or wealth. Prof. Habib's observation that "*face to face with social and economic provision of the Shari'at and the Hindu Smritis as practical alternatives, the Indian city-worker preferred the Shari'at*¹," supplies the key to an explanation of the acceptance of Ghurid rule by the Indians.

Significance of the Ghurid occupation of Northern India

The success of the Ghurids in India did not mean simply the substitution of one governing class by another. It led to some very vital changes

1. Introduction to the Revised Edition of *Elliot & Dowson's History of India* Vol, II p. 52.

and *novae res* in various spheres of life—social, religious, political and economic.

The Political Aspect: The establishment of Turkish rule meant the liquidation of multi-state system in northern India and the rise of a consolidated and centralized political organization which withstood the onslaughts of even the Mongol invaders. Hindustan which had become merely a geographical expression under the Rajputs regained its political individuality under the Turks. It would be too much to say that feudalism—the most distinctive feature of Rajput political life—disappeared completely from India with the advent of the Turks, but it can hardly be denied that the two basic concepts of feudalism—localism in administration and legal immunity of the feudal lord—received a serious set back and centrifugal tendencies were sternly checked and controlled. The political instinct of the Turkish conquerors refused to brook any distribution or division of authority on a feudal basis. Iltutmish and Balban, the two greatest Sultans of the early Turkish period, believed in unlimited and centralized political authority.

From the 8th century onwards India had lost all contact with the outside world and the Hindu society was 'set in rigidity like a concrete structure'. One great achievement of the Turkish conquest of northern India was the ending of this isolation and the establishment of the International status of India in the then-known world. Theoretically the Delhi Sultanate was a part of the Abbasid Caliphate and as such, a traveller could, in the words of Arnold, "pass from the confines of China to the pillars of Hercules, from the banks of Indus to Sicilian Gates, from the Oxus to the shores of the Atlantic, without stepping outside the boundaries of the territory ruled over by the Caliph in Baghdad¹."

The Religious Aspect: Similarly, as after the rise of Buddhism, Brahmanism was forced to recast its religious outlook, after the Ghurid occupation of northern India also the Hindu religious thinkers were obliged to face the changed circumstances by effecting a change in their religious outlook. Hinduism gave evidence of great dynamism when it modified its social outlook and religious behaviour according to the requirements of the time. The rigidity of the caste system was softened in the centuries that followed and Hinduism which did not believe in making converts adopted proselytizing methods². Though the Bhakti

1. *Travels and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, p. 89.

2. See Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, (pp. 380-381) for story relating to the conversion of a Muslim woman to Hinduism.

movement, which was based on the two revolutionary doctrines of direct approach to Ultimate Reality and brotherhood of man blossomed in the 14th century, its germination may safely be traced to the early 13th century. Probably never before in the annals of Hinduism religious leadership had sprung from that class of society to which saints like Kabir, Nanak, Dadu, Dhanna and others belonged. A comparison and contrast of the religious and social outlook of the Hindus in the 12th and in the 15th centuries will explain the nature and extent of the influence of Islam on Indian culture.

The Social Aspect: Though the Turkish governing class jealously guarded its interests in the political sphere, it never permitted any distinction in the social or the legal sphere¹. The immediate and the most significant effect of the Turkish occupation of northern India was the liquidation of the old system of city-planning. The place of the '*caste-cities*' of the Rajput period was taken by the '*cosmopolitan cities*' of the Mussalmans. The gates of the new cities were thrown open for workers, artisans and Chandalas. The city walls were constantly extended and within its fold all types of people—high and low—built their houses and lived side by side without any social stigma attaching to any one. This plan suited the Turkish bureaucrats who wanted all workers to be close at hand for work in their *karkhanahs* (factories), offices and private houses. As a result, the cities grew in size and prosperity. The city boundary-wall ceased to be a line of social demarcation or distinction; it became simply a wall of protection and defence, and nothing more. So great was the aversion of the Muslim people to the idea of segregation that, when Aibek thought of shifting the tanners of hide (*dabbagh*) to some distant quarter of the city²,—on purely hygienic grounds, not due to any caste consideration—the people considered it so cruel and unjust that they interpreted his sudden death as a divine punishment for this act.

The new cities that rose up from Lahore to Lakhnauti were symbols of a new social order. Workers, labourers, artisans, the non-caste people and the unprivileged classes fully benefited from the urbanization policy of the Sultans and enjoyed, for the first time, the amenities of civic life. The Rajput and the privileged classes chafed under a sense of humiliation and defeat but the working classes joined hands with the new government and helped it in building the new cities.

1. Balban, inspite of his racial prejudices in the political sphere, believed that there should be no discrimination in legal matters. When Malik Baqbaq, a courtier, who held the *jagir* of Badaun and 4,000 horses, scourged his servant to death, Balban ordered the Malik to be flogged likewise. *Barani*, p. 40.

2. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, pp. 105-106.

The Economic Aspect: These new cities became busy centres of trade and a new impetus was given to commercial enterprise. All those political and economic barriers which had separated one state from another and had limited the merchant's world did not exist now. From Multan to Lakhnauti there was one government. The legal system was one; the tariff regulations were the same; the coinage was the same; the market was wider and there were better prospects of trade. A merchant could move from city to city, without any fear of caste regulations. He could stay in any inn or mosque (within the four walls of the city) and travel under uniform conditions of taxation¹.

Commercial relations with the outside world developed on an unprecedented scale and foreign traders and merchants began to visit the Indian towns in large numbers. 'Isami refers to the presence of Chinese traders in Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish².

Under the changed social and economic conditions, forced and involuntary labour was also given up. This proved a boon for the workers. The attitude of the Muslim governments towards involuntary labour is clearly evinced by an anecdote relating to Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin as recorded by Muhammad 'Awfi. The Sultan not only punished an officer in this connection but declared forced labour to be a crime in his territory.³

The Military Aspect: The establishment of Turkish rule in India brought about a change in the technique of war and the composition and character of the Indian armies. Fighting ceased to be the monopoly of one group. Any one who had the strength to bear the strain of war, could join the army. In fact it was under the Sultans of Delhi that really Indian armies—i.e., armies in which recruitment was made from all sections of the Indian population, irrespective of any consideration of caste, creed or colour—came into existence. This Indian army was the *forte* of the Sultanate and while internally it kept down the hostile Ranas and Rawats, externally it baffled the Mongols in their attempts at sweeping over the country.

At a time when great changes had taken place in the art of warfare in Central Asian lands, India had remained wedded to its outmoded and ineffec-

1. We hear of Muslim traders from Lahore travelling to do business with the Hindus of Gujarat and making huge profits (*Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 116) A Hindu merchant of Nahrwalah, Visala Abjar, carried on trade in Ghaznin. (*Jawami'-ul-Hikayat*, Vol. I, pp. 47-48).

2. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 122.

3. *Jawami'-ul-Hikayat*, Vol. I, p. 22.

tive modes of warfare, relying mainly on the elephant, the *paik* and the fort as the chief instruments of war. The Turk ushered in the change from the *paik* (foot soldier) to the *sawaran-i-muqatala* (mounted fighting men) and thus brought India militarily on a par with Central Asian powers¹.

The idea of a strong standing army—centrally recruited, centrally paid and centrally administered²—gained ground with the advent of the Turks. Levies from provincial governors and *Iqta'dars* were often requisitioned but the central army always remained the core of the military organization of the Turks. The Central government recruited and utilized all the resources of the country in men and material wherever available—horses from Sind Siwalik and Bhatnir; elephants from Bengal³; mercenaries from the Khokar and Jat tribes of the Punjab⁴; lancers from the suburbs of Sind⁵ etc.

Character of the Ghurid Invasions

The Turkish invasions were not inspired by any religious zeal or proselytizing fervour. Shihab-u'd-din's first conflict on the Indian soil took place not with a Hindu raja but with a Muslim co-religionist and he faced him with the same determination and in the same spirit in which he carried his arms into the *Aryavarta*. The Ghurid successes were not followed by any retaliatory action inspired by religious zeal or fanaticism. They handled the situation in the light of expediency and entered into a series of compromises without any religious partiality or prejudice. After the conquest of Ajmer, Shihab-u'd-din did not take over the administration but entrusted it to Prithvi Raj's son on condition of vassalage. When Delhi was conquered, Khandirai's successor was allowed to rule over the territory. When the Chauhans troubled Prithivi Raj's son, Aibek decided on direct annexation but compensated the prince by placing him in charge of Ranthambhor. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, a contemporary of the early Turkish Sultans, has dis-

1. But India could not keep herself in touch with developments in the art of war in Central Asia in subsequent centuries. If the neglect of cavalry brought disaster at the battlefield of Tarain (1191), the neglect of artillery received severe punishment at Panipat (1525).

2. The importance that the 'Ariz and his department assumed in the administration of the Sultanate during this period was due to the emphasis laid by the Turkish Sultans on the organization of the standing army. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir describes a review by the 'Ariz. The 'Ariz saw the army—both cavalry and infantry—march past him. The *naqibs* stood by and the 'Ariz scrutinized each soldier, his arms and his horse. Every soldier had an appointed place; the *naqibs* had charts for arranging the soldiers in battle array. (*Adab-ul-Harb* MS; Cf it with the review of Saffarid armies, *Supra* Section TWO p. 25). For the interest displayed by Balban and his 'Ariz in the upkeep and maintenance of army, see *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 115-116.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 53-96.

4. *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 247.

5. *Qir'an-us-Sa'dain* p. 47.

cussed five types of wars¹. Barring the religious terminology which was inevitable in the medieval context, he seems to believe that the Turkish wars were not religious in character.

Unnecessary emphasis is sometimes laid on the destruction of temples and cities by the Turks in the 12th and the 13th centuries². These acts were the necessary concomitant of medieval warfare. Every invader and conqueror delighted in presenting his exploits and achievements before the people in complimentary colours. These things were not unknown to Hindus. One west Chalukyan inscription formally accuses the Chola king of having burnt Jain temples in the Belvola province. The Vaisnavas of the South level similar charges against the Cholas³. In fact every age has its own code of war. In the middle ages the destruction of temples and houses of worship was practised by all—Indians, Turks, Mongols and others. Every invader, like the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, delighted in magnifying his achievements. In almost the same strain in which Hasan Nizami extols the achievements of the Ghurids, the Hindu kings of medieval India prided in the destruction of cities and houses of worship. The burning of Vatapi by the Pallavas and the repeated sacking of Sanchi by the Chalukyas, who dominated the Deccan, may be cited as instances of this spirit. A Rashtrakuta king boasts of having reduced the great city of Qannuaj into *Kusathali*. Similarly the Cholas assumed the title of *Madhurantaka* to signalize the destruction of the city of Madura⁴. “Vikrama Cola”, writes Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, “claimed to have burned not only the Kalinga country but also the city of Kampili as well as the whole of Rattapadi. As to the burning of the Rashtrakuta country by Rajendra Cola, we have an account in the Soartur inscription. According to that record, the Cola army numbering 9,00,000 pillaged the whole country slaughtering Brahmanas, women and children and destroyed the modesty of women by forcibly carrying them off. Another Cola record speaks of the destruction of non-combatants while the Hoysala Visnuvardhana claims to have burned enemy towns and territories⁵.” Neither the medieval Hindus nor the medieval Turks need be condemned for what they did. They simply followed an established practice of their age.

1. *Adab-ul-Harb wa Shuja'at*, ff. 131b-132a.

2. For a modern interpretation of this type, see *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. XIV, XIX.

3. *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, p. 178.

4. *Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, pp. 176-177.

5. *Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, pp. 176-177.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTER OF THE EMPIRE AND THE RELIGIO-POLITICAL IDEALS OF THE SULTANS

The character of the early Turkish Empire of Delhi has often been grossly misunderstood. Sometimes a religious veneer is put on it and it is represented as a 'theocracy'; at others it is called a 'military state', resting on sheer physical force—without roots in the soil or support from the masses. A closer study, however, reveals that it was neither the one nor the other and that all such estimates are based on a misunderstanding of the real nature of the Muslim political organizations from the time of the Prophet to the rise of Sultanate.

As already stated¹, (all Muslim governments from the time of the Umayyads have been secular organizations.) The concept of theocracy, even if its Christian or Jewish background is ignored, cannot be divested of its following essential elements:

- (a) A government in which God is regarded as the sole sovereign;
- (b) the government is devoted primarily to the achievement of religious ends;
- (c) all laws are divine commands rather than human ordinances;
- (d) these laws are administered by an organized priesthood or a sacerdotal order claiming divine commission; and
- (e) the two societies, civil and religious, are entirely incorporated.

The *Khilafat-i-Rashida* alone can be designated as a theocracy in the light of the elements mentioned above. The *Sultanate* did not possess these attributes. It had no sanction in *Shari'at*; nay, it was a non-legal institution. Its laws were the result of the legislative activity of the rulers and the governing classes. The administration was exclusively in the hands of the secular authorities. When Bughra Khan advised Kaiqubad to shake off his indolence and reorganize the administration, he exhorted him to appoint particularly reliable persons to look after the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*, the *Diwan-i-Risalat*², the *Diwan-i-'Arz* and the *Diwan-i-Insha*³. The implication

1. See Supra, Section TWO.

2. The *Diwan-i-Risalat* did not deal with religious affairs as Dr. I. H. Qureshi states (*Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 85). It dealt, as the term itself suggests, with foreign and diplomatic correspondence. (Cf. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 223-224).

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 153.

was that these departments—all of which were under secular control—constituted the pivot of the administration. In fact it was the higher nobility and the upper class of officials, like *kotwals*, *wakil-i-dars*, *sarjandars*, *akhurbegs*, *dabirs*, and *mustaufis*¹, which influenced and formulated the policies of the Sultanate. The religious leaders played the part of a second fiddle. The political authorities tried to bind them to the state chariot in order to win public support through them, but they were not allowed to determine the course of political developments. Religion was no doubt respected but it was never made the basis of the political organisation and the *Sultanate* never strove to realize any religious ends. Even the ethico-political treatises of the period, though anxious to invest the king with divine dignity, did not hesitate in declaring the incompatibility of *dindari* with *dunyadari* of which the Sultanate was the highest perfection².

The early Turkish Empire of Hindustan was a class-state in so far as its political outlook was concerned. The Turkish warriors were more anxious to consolidate and preserve their power and authority rather than attempt any propagation or exposition of the political ideals of Islam. In fact, they themselves were callow converts and had accepted the new religion at a time when decadence had set in and political rivalries and ambitions had deadened the real spirit of the faith. They were ignorant of the Islamic ideals of peace and war which had inspired the soul of the early Saracens. Their wars were not the wars of religion and their political ideals were not determined by Islam. They planned their political life on secular basis; worked according to their secular instincts and allowed the spirit of tribal intolerance and tribal greed—which Islam, as preached by the Prophet, had come to abolish—to continue operating in their lives. They were Muslims no doubt but were not the representatives of Islam. The chronicles of the early Muslim historians like Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir often delude us into thinking that the Turkish occupation of northern India was a religious affair and that the warriors were religious heroes ready to live and die for the faith, but such a view cannot stand the test of historical scrutiny. Considered in its proper historical perspective, the Turkish occupation of northern India was an inevitable result of the emigration of races from Mongolia and Central Asia. It was population pressure, rather than religious fanaticism, which had brought the Turks into Hindustan. The Empire which they had so enthusiastically built up would have ended in smoke had not another wave of tribal-emigration from

1. See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 169; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 37-38; 85 etc.

2. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 159a.

Turkish lands—i.e. the Mongol pressure—uprooted innumerable Muslim families and driven them pell-mell into Hindustan to supply the necessary man-power for the infant Turkish Empire of India.

The opinion that the Turkish government was military in character or that it rested exclusively on the force of Turkish arms is equally unwarranted. No political structure could be built up and no government could be carried on for decades, nay for centuries, without its active acquiescence by the people. The frequency of military operations during the period should not be construed to mean that the state was military in character. It was military only so far as all medieval Empires had to be. Beyond that it was not, and, could not be so. The Rajput privileged classes—*Thakurs*, *Ranas* and *Rawats*—who were deprived of their pre-eminent position in the social and political life of the country—no doubt chafed under foreign domination and rebelled whenever an opportunity was available, but we do not come across a single revolt of the Hindu *masses* as such. In fact the people in general had accepted the new government as it had guaranteed complete freedom in their peaceful pursuits. A Hindu inscription dated 1337 of the *Vikrama* era (1280-1 A.D.) describes Balban as he, 'throughout whose contented realm, under his great and good government, from Gaur to Ghaznah, from the Dravida country and Rameshwaram, everywhere the Earth bears the bounty of sylvan spring.' His armies "*ensure the peace and security enjoyed by all.*" So great was the Sultan's care for his people that "Vishnu himself has retired from the care of the world and gone to sleep on the ocean of milk¹." There may be an element of poetic exaggeration in it, but it is, nevertheless, characterized by feelings of sincere appreciation.

The circumstances under which the Sultans had to work were exacting. On one side the displaced governing class was eager to reassert its authority and win back its lost prestige and on the other side the Mongols were hammering at the gates of India. A vigilant and well-organized army alone could guarantee peaceful conditions both for the individual and the society. An analysis of the military operations of the period reveals the fact that never for once were the Turkish armies called upon to deal with a hostile population. Their operations were directed either against the Mongols or against the recalcitrant *Ranas* and *Rawats*. Mr. K. M. Munshi's observation that "the conquests so exultantly referred to by the court chronicles of the Sultanate had an Indian side of the picture. It was one of ceaseless resistance offered with relentless heroism; of men, from boys in teens to men with one foot in the grave, flinging away their lives for free-

1. *Epigraphia Indo Moslemica*, 1913-1914, pp. 35-45.

dom; of warriors defying the invaders from fortresses for months, sometimes for years, in one case, with intermission, for a century; of women in thousands courting fire to save their honour; of children whose bodies were flung into the wells by their parents so that they might escape slavery; of fresh heroes springing up to take the place of the dead and to break the volume and momentum of the onrushing tide of invasion"¹ is not borne out by historical facts and may be dismissed as an attempt to misread medieval history in terms of modern national sentiments. Had this been the popular reaction to Turkish occupation of the country, the Turkish government would have been thrown out in no time.

A scientific evaluation of the nature of any organization cannot be attempted without an analysis of (a) the atmosphere in which the organization developed, (b) the *leitmotif* of the persons who developed it and (c) the organization itself. Studied in this light the Sultanate appears to be essentially a secular institution which was accepted by the medieval Indian people on grounds of merit.

Persian Influence on the Turkish State

Long before his advent into India, the Turk had been persianized in his thought and behaviour. The spirit of Persian Renaissance, though a spent-up force at this time, had so captivated his imagination that he was anxious to recreate and revive as much of Persian culture and traditions as possible. From theories of kingship to names and nomenclature of institutions and officers, court etiquettes and army organization, every detail of the Ilbarite political organization breathed the Persian atmosphere. The *Sultanate*, an anomalous but inevitable growth in Islamic polity as it was could not turn to the Pious Caliphate for guidance or inspiration. The Sassanids had elaborated an efficient state-apparatus, perhaps the most perfect in the history of Asia Minor;² and so the monarchical traditions of Persia could best serve the ideological and cultural needs of the *Sultanate*. The Sultans consequently invoked the spirit of Sassanid Persia and derived ideological vitality and cultural stamina from it.³ They rescued the great Persian heroes like Jamshed, Kaikhusrau, Kaiqubad, Bahram and Afrasiyab from the Sassanid oblivion and rehabilitated them in Muslim political consciousness as ideals of social conduct and political behaviour. All sorts of traditions—genuine and fake—associated with these heroes were

1. *The Struggle for Empire*, Preface.

2. *Iran*, Barthold, p. 37.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 25; 30-31; 142; 113;
Qir'an-us-Sa'dain, p. 24;

revived under the belief that kingship was not possible without emulating Persian customs and ways of life. Balban gave the popular names of Muslim families—Mahmud and Muhammad—to his sons born before his accession; but, his grandsons, who were born after his accession, were named as Kaiqubad, Kaikhusrau, Kaimurs, after the Persian kings. Both Iltutmish and Balban traced their pedigrees to Afrasiyab¹ and Amir Khusrau found no better compliment for Kaiqubad than²:

وارث اکلیل کیان کیتباد
کافر جد فر کیانیہیں داد

While nominating Razia as his successor, Iltutmish did not hesitate for a moment to consider the legal propriety of his action. He drew his inspiration from the Iranian traditions in which a daughter succeeding his father was not an unusual phenomenon. The fact that two daughters of Khusrau Parvez—Purandukht and Arjumanddukht—had ascended the throne one after the other in the 7th century³ was enough to satisfy Iltutmish's conscience. He bowed down before the Iranian traditions ignoring the interdict of the Prophet against entrusting government to women⁴.

So far as the administrative institutions of the Delhi Sultanate were concerned, most of them had evolved and developed in Persian lands and consequently the Persian stamp was very deep upon them. The slaves of the Imperial Household were recruited, maintained and disciplined according to Persian traditions. The armies were modelled on the armies of medieval Persia, with the same arms, equipment and tactics. No reader of *Adab-ul-Harb wa-Shuja'at* will be left in any doubt about the nature and extent of the Sassanid influence on the military ideals and organization of the Turks.

In their social life also the Turks adopted Persian customs, etiquettes and ceremonials. The court of the Delhi Sultan was, in certain respects,

1. Addressing Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud, Imam Asir-u'd-din Muntakhab wrote:

اے چراغ دودۂ افراسیاب ناصرالدینا شہ مالک رقاب

(*Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, Rotograph, f 356a and 358b). See also, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 37.

For an account of the Afrasiyabi Maliks, see Raverty p. 900 *et seq.*

2. *Qir'an-us-Sa'dain*, p. 22.

3. *History of Persia*, Malcolm, Vol. I, p. 54.

Literary History of Persia, Browne, Vol. I, p. 182.

4. *Izalat-ul-Khifa*, Shah Waliullah, p. 8; *Hujjatullah-al-Baligha*, II, p. 356. For contemporary opinion about the desirability or otherwise of acting upon the advice of women, see *Adab-ul-Harb*, p. 68a.

a replica of the Sassanid court¹. The custom of *pabos* or *zaminbos*² was introduced and the Persian festival of *Nauroz*³ was celebrated with great pomp and eclat. The Mongol cataclysm had dealt a severe blow to Persian culture in 'Ajam; the Turkish Sultans of India gave it the protection it needed and, when almost all its centres had fallen, Delhi rose into eminence as the last citadel of Persian traditions.

Theories and ideals of Kingship

Law, tradition and expediency—these three factors shaped the political outlook of the Sultans and conditioned their theories of kingship. Insofar as they considered themselves “lieutenants of the Caliph⁴” and looked for investiture from Baghdad⁵, their attitude was determined by the legal requirements of the age⁶. The traditional elements in their theory of sovereignty came from Sassanid Persia; while political circumstances accentuated or attenuated the autocratic character of their monarchical institutions.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 25; Amir Khusrau declares Kaikubad's court to be superior to the courts of Kisra, Zuhak, Faridun and Jam. *Qir'an-us-Sa'dain*, p. 25.

2. The custom of prostrating before the king was prevalent both in India and Persia. The Muslim rulers, both caliphs and sultans, adopted it very early. The Seljuqs, the Samanids and the Ghazanavids introduced it in their courts. If it reached the Delhi court through Persian channels, Indian traditions brought it to the medieval khanqahs. All visitors to Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar and Shaikh Nizamu'd-din Auliya showed their respect to the great saints by laying their foreheads on the ground. Amir Hasan refers to this practice again and again (*Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad*, pp. 158-159). Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh discontinued it on account of its illegal character and declared:

پیش مخلوق سر بر زمین نهادن روا نیست

(It is not lawful to place head on the ground before a creature)—*Khair-ul Majalis*, p. 157.

3. *Nauroz* (or *Naugroz* as it was called by the Sassanids) was an ancient Persian festival (*A. Christensen*, pp. 225-6). Alberuni thus describes the general schemes of the celebration of *Nauroz*:

“In these five days it was the custom of the Kisras (Persian kings) that the king opened the Nauruz and then proclaimed to all that he would hold a session for them, and bestow benefits upon them. On the second day the session was for men of high rank, and for the members of the great families. On the third day the session was for his warriors, and for the highest *Maubadhs* (priests). On the fourth day it was for his family, his relations and domestics, and on the fifth day it was for his children and clients. When the sixth day came and he had done justice to all of them, he celebrated Nauruz for himself and conversed only with his special friends and those who were admitted into his privacy.” as cited in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Vol. V, p. 872.

That the festival of *Nauroz* was celebrated in India for four days is clear from the following statement of Amir Hasan Sijzi made before Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya:

پیش ازیں به چهار روز که نو روز بود بلده شعرے گفته است

Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad, p. 127.

4. *Adab-ul-Harb*, ff 9b, 10a, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 177; 206; N. Wright pp. 15-32.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 174; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 103.

The Caliphate, Arnold, pp. 101-102.

An analysis of the processes through which the traditions of Sassanid Persia made their way into the Muslim society, an interesting sociological study no doubt, falls beyond the scope of this work. It may, however, be pointed out that the governing class had to use much ingenuity in order to make these Persian notions tolerable to Muslim society. The divinity of kings being a fundamental postulate of Sassanid polity, the court of the Sassanid Emperor was arranged like a temple where people approached him with the same servility and deference with which a devotee approaches the pedestal of an idol. When Muslim power was established in Persia, these Persian traditions were suppressed for the moment but, soon afterwards they began to reassert themselves. A Persian sect, called Rawendiya (from the name of their town) surrounded the palace of Mansur (754-775 A.D.) and shouted: "It is the house of our Lord, he that giveth us food to eat and water to drink."¹ They demanded the Caliph to declare himself as God in human form. This demand was so glaringly opposed to the fundamentals of Muslim faith that no Muslim ruler, however indifferent towards religion, dare accept it. The Rawendis were crushed but the hint was taken by the ruling classes that political authority could not be consolidated without introducing some divine elements into it. The power of the crown was consequently sanctified and the democratic traditions of Islam were made to yield place to the authoritarian tendencies of Iran. Ideals and traditions which were refused admittance through the front gate, came surreptitiously and through the back door. Kingship was declared to be the viceregency of God (*niyabat-i-Khudawandi*)² and the king was placed on a divine pedestal. Many servile forms of the Sassanid court were revived and were presented as legitimate substitutes for the earlier democratic practice of *bay'at*.³ But, while all these institutions and practices were being legalized, the basic fact remained that the *Sultanate* itself was illegal. A school of jurists then elaborated a constitutional theory which accepted the new monarchy (*Sultanate*) as an unalterable reality and linked it up with the Caliphal system. Some *hadises* were also manufactured to cast a halo of legality round the person of the Sultan.⁴ 'Utbi quotes the saying : *al-*

1. Ibn Asir, Vol, V, pp. 187-188.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 34.

3. *Muqaddama*, Ibn Khaldun (Urdu Translation, Lahore), Vol. II, p. 90.

Minhaj's use of the term *bay'at-i-'am* in connection with the accession of Mu'izz-u'd-din Bahram (p. 191) 'Ala-u'd-din Mas'ud (p. 198) and Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud (p. 208) appears ridiculous when the real connotation of the term is kept in mind. What Minhaj designates as *bay'at-i-'am* was really the allegiance of the nobility.

4. It may be pointed out that during the time of the Prophet the word *Sultan* was never used in the sense in which it is used or understood today. It simply meant *power* or *argument*. There are six passages in the *Quran* where *Sultan* has the meaning of power, but it is always the spiritual power which Iblis exercises over men (Sura XIV: 26;

Sultan zill Allah fi'l arz (The Sultan is the shadow of Allah on earth) as a genuine *hadis* at the beginning of the *Kitab-ul-Yamini* and his commentator al-Manini says that it was transmitted by Tirmizi and others as going back to Ibn 'Umar¹. All these attempts were dictated by the desire to facilitate the entry of Persian ideas into the body-politic of Islam.

The early Turkish Sultans of Delhi drew inspiration from these reorientated traditions of Sāsānid Persia. The king was proclaimed to be '*the shadow of God on earth*'², and his heart was declared to be *manzar-i-rabbani*³. Obedience to him was considered obedience to God⁴, while rebellion against him was condemned as sin⁵. The Quranic verse: "Obey God, obey the Prophet and obey those with authority⁶," was constantly emphasized to bring home to the minds of the people the necessity of obeying the Sultan, and a *hadis* of the Prophet in which the people are exhorted to obey the orders of their ruler '*even if he be a negro or a slave or mutilated in form*'⁷, was constantly pressed forward to make obedience to political authorities, a religious obligation enjoined by the *Quran* and the *Hadis*.

XV: 42; XVI: 101-102; XVII: 67; XXXIV: 20). In the early centuries of Islam the word came to mean governmental power. The transition in meaning from an impersonal representative of political power to a personal title is a much later development.

1. *Sharh al-Yamini*, Cairo, 1286, p. 21.

2. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 13; *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, p. 79; *Adab-ul-Harb*, f. 113a. Minhaj calls Ilutmish ظل الله في العالمين (p. 165); Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud is called سایه یزدان and ظل الله في العالمين (p. 205). Minhaj addresses Balban also as such (p. 230). Amir Khusrau writes about Kaiqubad:

چوں تو شدی سایه یزدان پاک سایه فشان باش بریں مشیت خاک
(*Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 205).

تیز نتواند بعالم دیدن اکلن آفتاب چوں ز چترش عالم در ظل یزدانی نشست
(*Diwan*, p. 30).

افسر خورشید بشاهی توہی نے غلطم ظل الہی توہی
(*Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 25).

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 70-71; Khusrau writes about Kaiqubad:

جہت تو با دم عدل و داد لوح خدائہست کہ محفوظ باد
Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain, p. 20.

4. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 12; Fakhr-i-Mudabbir quotes the following as a tradition of the Prophet:

من اطاعنی فقد اطاع الله و من اطاع الا مام فقد اطاعنی و من عصانی
فقد عصی الله من عصی الا مام فقد عصانی

5. *Fakhr-i-Mudabbir*, (*Adab-ul-Harb*, f. 100b; f. 102a *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-uddin Mubarak Shah*, p. 12) and Minhaj (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 183) use the phrase عاصی شدن for rebellion.

6. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 12.

7. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 13; *Adab-ul-Harb*, f. 3b.

Inspired by the Sassanid traditions of distance between royalty and the ryot, the Turkish Sultans of Delhi also emphasized the dignified parts of kingship and looked down upon all contact with the people as derogatory to the dignity of kingly office. In adopting this attitude towards the ryot, the Sultans were, in fact, helped and encouraged by the nobles who considered such attitude necessary in their own interest. Two very distinguished Turkish nobles of the period, Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Salari and Malik Qutb-u'd-din Hasan, persistently persuaded Iltutmish to maintain royal dignity in every sphere for "it was necessary for the Sultan to strike awe and terror into the hearts of the people" and because "one could not discharge the obligations of kingship unless he behaved with dignity¹." But this attitude did not go unchallenged. Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi boldly criticised these practices and explained their irreligious character in the presence of Iltutmish². Iltutmish, however, did not discontinue them. Whatever his personal religious outlook, he refused to take any risks by ignoring the demands of political life. The reaction of the people to these servile forms of Sassanid kingship is not known. Only once during the long history of the Delhi Sultanate, did a man ask a saint of Bihar about the justification for calling the Sultan "the shadow of God on earth³." Similar interrogations must have exercised the mind of at least some people, but we have no means of knowing their views. What bound the people to the Turkish Sultans and created confidence in their hearts was, in fact, their stern and implacable sense of justice which overrode all other considerations⁴. It was at this level of justice and equity—not at the level of theological speculations or personal fads and fancies—that the common man judged his ruler.

One of the most popular medieval Persian traditions was the compilation of the *wasaya* (precepts) of eminent rulers and statesmen. Some of these collections are, no doubt, apocryphal in character but they were immensely popular in the middle ages and were avidly read and quoted by medieval statesmen and political thinkers⁵. Of the Sultans of Delhi, the *wasaya* of Balban alone have been preserved by Zia-u'd-din Barani⁶. Balban was, in fact, an ideal ruler according to the standards of the age—firm, fair and

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 31.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 41.

3. *Ma'dan-ul-Ma'ani*, Vol. I, p. 25. See also *A'ijaz-i-Khusravi* Vol. IV p. 196.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 44-45.

5. Barani refers to many such collections of *wasaya* in his *Fatawai-i-Jahandari*.

6. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariya, a contemporary of Iltutmish and Balban, is also reported to have left a *Wasiyat Namah* for his son, Shaikh Sadar-u'd-din 'Arif (See *Siraj-ul-Hidaya*, malfuz of Sayyid Jalal-uddin Bukhari Makhdam-i-Jahanian, MS f. 44a) This *Wasiyat Namah* is not available now.

awe-inspiring. Endowed with rare political vision and energy, he set the confused and disorganised affairs of government in order and enhanced the dignity and prestige of the crown. "No one", rightly observes Lane-Poole, "understood better than Balban the conditions of kingship in India.¹" His *wasaya* had, therefore, a special significance for medieval governments which were faced with the problem of law and order and the consolidation of political power. His instructions to his sons—Muhammad² and Mahmud³—epitomize not only the political ideology of the middle ages but bring out the inner conflicts of his own political personality in full relief.

Balban's *wasaya* to his son and heir-apparent, Prince Muhammad, comprised two parts: the first was based on what Balban had heard about the functions and duties of kingship from eminent scholars at the court of Iltutmish. These advices were idealistic and religious in nature. So far as acting upon them was concerned, Balban himself confessed: "How can we the slaves be competent to rule in the manner in which 'Umar b. Khatab and 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz ruled⁴." It was 'paternal love', he said, which induced him to mention them before him, otherwise they had no relevance to his political problems.⁵ The second part of his instructions was based upon his personal political experience which extended over a period of half a century. Balban wanted his son to follow these instructions closely, strictly and intelligently. "If we do not regularly observe these rules", he warned the Prince "there is sure to be trouble and confusion in our territories⁶."

The first part of Balban's *wasaya* contained the following advices:

- (1) Do not consider the task of ruling over people an ordinary or a trifling affair. It is a serious duty which should be discharged in all seriousness and with full sense of responsibility.
- (2) The heart of the king reflects the glory of God. If it does not continue catching divine radiance continuously, the king cannot fulfil or satisfy so many and so important duties of his kingly office. The king should, therefore, strive for the purification of his heart and his soul and should always be thankful to God for His blessings. 'A thankful king is sheltered under the canopy of God's protection'.

1. *Medieval India under Mohammedan Rule*, p. 88.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 69-80.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 95-105.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 74-74-75.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 70.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 70.

- (3) If the king allows the low born, base, irreligious and faithless people to interfere in government affairs, he is not only guilty of being ungrateful to God but occupies the territory of God against the orders of the Day of Creation.
- (4) The King must live in such a way that all his acts, words and movements are appreciated and recognized by the Mussalmans.
- (5) He must follow the old kings and seek God's pleasure by doing approved and virtuous acts.
- (6) He must behave in such a way that his words, deeds, orders and personal qualities and virtues may enable people to live according to the laws of *shari'at*.
- (7) That king alone is a real ruler who uses his God-given glory, grandeur, army, attendants and treasuries, to extirpate infidelity, idolatry, polytheism and vice. If he is unable to accomplish this, he must at least, keep the enemies of God and His Prophet dishonoured and humiliated.
- (8) If the king is unable to uproot sin and immorality completely, he must at least make it impossible for sinners and immoral people to indulge in sin and vice.
- (9) He alone is a real king whose friends and officers administer absolute justice and root out oppression from his dominion. His own example should incline the hearts of friends, officers and subjects towards justice and fairplay.
- (10) Pious, religious minded, just and Godfearing men alone should be appointed as *qazis*, *officials*, *amirdads* and *muhtasibs* so that the laws of *shari'at* might be enforced through them. These officials should remove deceit, fraud, dissensions, dishonesty, hoarding and usury from the people.
- (11) The king should realise that '*people follow the religion of their rulers*'. If the king and his officers are honest and truthful, all the people in his dominion, young and old, women and children are drawn towards virtue, uprightness and justice. If the king and his officers indulge in oppression and vice the people also become wicked and immoral: "O my dear son! Jamshed, the king of kings, used to say very often that the people are obedient and subordinate to King's orders. They adopt the same things which their king likes."
- (12) The king and his allies, friends, *qazis*, officials and governors should realize that success in this world and salvation in the next

depends on purification of the inner self. So far as external decoration is concerned, the high born and the low born, the Mussalmans and the infidels, the skilled ones and the worthless, the learned and the illiterate, the slaves and the free born, make no difference.

Under the second category, Balban advised his son as follows:

- (1) Royal dignity should be maintained both in public and private. All etiquettes and formalities should be meticulously followed under all circumstances.
- (2) You should understand that kingship is the viceregency of God.
- (3) Only noble, virtuous, wise and skilled people should be allowed to come near you. You should make huge grants in their favour so that your generosity and beneficence might earn a good name in this world and get a reward in the next. You will never be disappointed in either world if you support and patronize the noble and the virtuous people.
- (4) Under no circumstances you should allow the mean, vulgar and the faithless people, and infidels to gather round you. If any person of humble birth and low origin is already in your service, you must be kind and generous towards him but you should not make him your favourite or confidant. God will be displeased with you if you give high posts to mean, low born and worthless people.
- (5) Do not incur the displeasure of God by indulging in luxuries.
- (6) Kingship and bravery are twins.
- (7) If a king lives in the same way as other people live and grants to people what others also can bestow, the glory of sovereignty vanishes. A king should live and behave in a way different from other people.
- (8) A king should be full of ambition for kingship can never be successful without it.
- (9) Kingship is not possible without these things—justice, beneficence, pomp, army, treasury, confidence of the people and a number of, selected and distinguished men to assist and serve the Sultan. If there is no justice, there can be no stability in government. Army and treasury are the two great essentials of kingship. If the people begin to hate their king and lose confidence in him, dissensions and disorders appear everywhere in the kingdom. No government can be carried on successfully without assistants and allies.

of noble birth. Your first duty is to inquire about the birth and character of a person before taking him into your confidence. Having once elevated a man to a high position do not search for pretexts to degrade him.

- (10) Whenever you chastise some one keep on moderation; do not convert well-wishers and sincere people into opponents.
- (11) Sleuths and spies should not be allowed to come anywhere near the court for their closeness to the ruler terrifies the obedient and trustworthy friends and their confidence in the king—which is the basis of good government—vanishes.
- (12) Whenever you think of any expedition, first consider its consequences carefully. A king should not undertake any campaign which is not expected to be fruitful for in case of failure the royal prestige suffers grievously. Kingship cannot stand dishonour or humiliation. You should create such conditions that no equal of yours thinks of invading your territory. Do not personally lead expeditions against the smaller fry—the low born and the worthless people. What others can achieve, do not undertake yourself. Do not be self-willed and do not undertake any campaigns without first consulting your advisers. Unless you are convinced that a man is sincere, faithful, experienced and farsighted, do not make him your confidant and do not disclose state secrets to him.
- (13) Do not be negligent or careless in looking after your sons, brothers, helpers, allies, *mugta'is*, officials, *'amils*, army and the people. It is necessary for a king to be well acquainted with the good and evil intentions of his people.
- (14) You should have an eye on the revenues and the expenditure of the Empire. Half of the revenue should be appropriated, the other half should be kept in treasury to be used in times of emergency. Necessary expenses should be incurred but there should be no extravagance for 'God does not like extravagant people'. Make earnest effort to add to your wealth and territory through means sanctioned by the *shari'at*.
- (15) Keep the army, subjects, and the merchants happy and prosperous.
- (16) There should be perfect peace and order in the country. Things sanctioned by the *shari'at* should be enforced; things forbidden by law should be sternly stopped.
- (17) Be on good terms with your people, governors, army and the pious men.

- (18) Use moderation in handling the affairs of your people. Be dignified, quiet and collected in your dealings with them. Harshness and leniency both breed disaffection and create chaos.
- (19) Protect your person from wicked people. Their inordinate ambition can do any harm to you. Keep sincere guards and trustworthy policemen in your court.
- (20) Be kind to your younger brother and do not entertain complaints against him. Treat him as your right arm and allow him to retain the territory which I have assigned to him.

Some of the instructions which Balban gave to his son Bughra Khan were mere repetitions of advice given earlier to Prince Muhammad. The following points, however, deserve to be noted:

1. It is not advisable for any ruler of Lakhnauti to rebel against the Sultan of Delhi. He should avoid all chances of conflict with Delhi and should continue sending presents and messages to the centre regularly. If the Sultan of Delhi marches towards Lakhnauti, he should fly away to some distant land.
2. *Wilayat dari* (governorship) and *Iqlim dari* (kingship) are two different things. If a *muqta'i* commits mistakes and does not perform his duty properly, he is dismissed by the king and the matter ends there; if, on the other hand, a suzerain commits mistakes, it leads to chaos and dissensions in every direction. The people become unruly, the government loses its stability, and the army gets restive.
3. A king should use moderation in the levying of taxes, and should neither tax so heavily as to make people poor and helpless nor so lightly as to make them disobedient and insolent. Superfluity of wealth turns the head of the people and makes them recalcitrant and insolent.
4. A king should be very careful about two things: (a) regular payment of the salaries of his soldiers and (b) production of enough grain to meet the needs of the people. Legislation to achieve these ends is a stupendous task which Aristotles and Buzurchimehrs alone can perform. The king should give up lethargy and luxury and should work with the advice and help of talented wazirs and advisors to achieve these ends.
5. There should be consistency and stability in royal orders. Frequent changes bring about instability in the government.

6. Special attention should be paid towards the recruitment and maintenance of the army. The king should realize that the stability and permanence of his authority depend upon the maintenance of a large army. The affairs of the army should be reported to the king every day. The *Diwan-i-'Arz* should be dignified in dealing with the old army and liberal in the recruitment of the new.
7. A king should not neglect the worship of God. Five-time prayers should be offered punctually and in congregation.

After giving these instructions Balban summed up his speech with the following note:

“Mahmud! I have given you instructions according to the requirements of the time. But, if I give you instructions of religious minded kings and say that you should use all your courage and valour in the destruction and annihilation of infidelity and *shirk*, to keep the infidels and idol worshippers degraded and dishonoured so that you may get a place in the company of prophets and to crush and uproot the Brahmins so that infidelity vanishes, to follow the traditions of the Prophet, to regard all court etiquettes contrary to the traditions of the Prophet, and to seek the approval of Abbasid Caliphs for your government and to appoint at the capital, *'ulama*, *mashaikh*, *sayyids*, scholars well-versed in Exegesis, Traditionists, persons who know Quran by heart, preachers, scholars and people skilled in every art so that it may become another Egypt, to offer Friday prayers with the permission of the Caliph, all this is my business to tell you about; but it is not worthwhile to repeat the same to you as you are a victim to evil designs.... But my last instruction to you is that you should commit yourself to the protection (*i.e.* become disciple) of some holy person... who has really renounced this world and who has dedicated himself completely to the devotion and worship of God. Beware you should never attach yourself...to a man of the world”.

A careful analysis of the thought-content of these *wasaya* leads to the conclusion that, notwithstanding his insistence on regular performance of obligatory prayers for the personal salvation of a ruler, Balban's political ideology had no reference to religion. It was political expediency, not theological sanctions, to which he turned again and again to justify his principles. Respectful references to the Prophet and his traditions, and the governments of 'Umar bin Khatab and 'Umar b. 'Abdul 'Aziz should not be construed to mean anything more than mere lip-homage. His clear and unerring political vision had discerned in Jamshed and Afrasiyab, Sanjar and Muhammad Khwarazm Shah the heroes he needed to consolidate the Sultanate and enhance his dignity.

Balban's court

No medieval Indian ruler laid greater emphasis on court decorum and etiquette than Balban who had meticulously organised every detail of court life in the light of Persian traditions. His ideals in this respect were Sultan Sanjar and Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shah¹ whom he tried to imitate as best as he could in the Indian environment. If the pageant of Sanjar's court had, at one time, made even the great Imam Ghazzali nervous², emissaries from foreign courts, princes and *muqaddams* trembled and fell down on the ground in the darbar of Balban³. With his face bright as the sun and his beard shining like camphor⁴, Balban sat on his throne with the dignity of a Sassanid king, while *hajibs*, *salahdars*, *jandars*, *chaooshs*, *naqibs* etc. stood before him in solemn silence. Only a few trusted maliks and confidants sat behind the throne; all others kept standing in order of their ranks and position. Every inch a king, Balban set the atmosphere of the court by his own behaviour. There was always a serious and grim look on his face and nobody ever saw him laughing or talking in a lighter mood. Storms of personal grief came in his life with unexpected fury and, though they killed the man in him, they could not disturb the routine of the Sultan. To his last moment, this stickler for court decorum scrupulously followed every detail of that exacting programme which he had set for himself.

On festive occasions his court presented a gala appearance. Embroidered carpets, brocade curtains, variegated clothes, and gold and silver vessels dazzled the vision of every spectator. The voice of the ushers went as far as two *karohs*. "For days after these festivals," writes Barani, "people talked about the decorations at the court⁵." When the Sultan rode out in procession, Seistani soldiers accompanied him with unsheathed swords. "The shining of the sun, the glittering of the sword, and the brightness of his face all taken together made a remarkable show." The shouts of *Bismillah*, *Bismillah*, rent the atmosphere⁶ as the royal cavalcade moved on. This display of power, authority and dignity which was inseparably associated in his mind with his theory of

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 32.

2. *Al-Ghazzali*, Shibli, p. 32.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 30-31.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 30. Fazuni Astarabadi supplies the following interesting information about his crown:

"سلطان محاسنی داشت بغایت طویل و وجه سلطان نیز طولانی
و تاج داشت طولانی چنانکه از سر تاجش تا سر محاسن اقلایک کز بدرازی"

Buhaira, p. 12

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 32.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 31.

kingship, made the most recalcitrant elements in the country submissive and struck awe and terror into the hearts of the people.

Racial Jealousies

If the personnel¹ of the Turkish government in India is analysed as a whole, it will be found that ministers, high officers, provincial governors, members of the judiciary and commanders of the forces, were mostly Turks. As organizers of victory the Turks took full advantage of the opportunities that political domination over a vast area brought for them. In fact, seldom has a small group of men so neatly enjoyed the revenues of a vast country as the Ghurid slave-officers whom Aibek and Iltutmish had led to victory. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir informs us that as the result of the Turkish domination over India 'even a poor householder who did not possess a single slave became the owner of numerous slaves, horses and camels; a man who originally owned only one horse became a *sipah-salar* and possessed a kettle drum, standard, *naubat*, all his own.'² It was but natural that they strove to safeguard jealously all these honours and privileges and excluded non-Turks—both Muslims and Hindus—from all effective posts in the administration. Both Iltutmish and Balban treated the Indian Mussalmans with contempt and ignored even merit among the non-Turks³. If ever, by force of circumstances, any posts were given to the non-Turks (contemptuously called *Tazik*⁴ by Minhaj), the Turkish bureaucracy resented it. During the reign of Sultan Rukn-u'd-din Firoz Shah, the Turkish bodyguard of the Sultan killed a number of non-Turkish officers, like Baha-u'd-din Hasan Asha'ri, Karim-u'd-din Zahid, Ziaul Mulk, Nizam-u'd-din Sharqan and Khwaja Rashid-u'd-din Malkani⁵, on account of racial and tribal prejudices. To some extent this racial exclusiveness was necessary in the interest of the governing class, but when carried to extremes it was bound to have its reactions. No sooner did the Turkish Sultans take up this attitude than the Indian Mussalmans began to resent the position to which they were reduced. A movement was

1. Some of these names are supplied by Minhaj and Barani. See *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 177-179; 206-207; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 24.

2. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 20.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 37-39.

Balban used to say:

”اگر هزار نوع هنر باشد ... پیس من ذکر کنند من بالیشان آن کنم که عبرت
جهانیان گردد“

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 37.

For Iltutmish's views see Barani, pp. 38-39.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 138.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 138.

organized under the leadership of 'Imad-u'd-din Raihan to break the monopoly of the Turks. The very fact that Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud had to dismiss Balban and entrust administration to Raihan shows that the movement had assumed serious proportions and the ruler could not possibly shut his eyes to the rapid political changes that were taking place in the character and composition of the 'pressure groups'. But Balban's dismissal was both an insult and a challenge to the Turkish bureaucracy which was not wanting in talent at this time. Minhaj, a spokesman of the Turkish amirs, remarks: "Turks of pure lineage and Tajiks of noble birth could not tolerate 'Imad-u'd-din of the tribes of Hind to rule over them¹." Better discipline, greater resources and superior leadership ultimately decided in favour of the Turks. Raihan was dismissed and Balban was again put in charge of administration. Raihan's dismissal, as also his appointment, was followed by a number of dismissals and appointments. Balban jealously guarded the interests of his race. So long as he was at the helm of affairs no Indian-born Mussalman could think of any government job². But Balban was torn by contradictions. His own policy sapped the foundations of Turkish power in India. Dynastic ambitions blinded him to the drastic political consequences that followed his policy of removing by poison and dagger³ all the talented and gifted Turkish leaders. Thus, in the process of safeguarding his family interests he reduced the Turkish nobility to such a position that, when the Hindustani elements challenged its position, it found itself utterly helpless. Within a couple of years after Balban's death, political power slipped out of the hands of the Turks and the non-descript Khaljis beat down the Turks in their race for political power. With the advent of the Khaljis the character of the Delhi Sultanate underwent a great change. The Turkish State transformed itself into an Indo-Muslim State. Racial prejudices were discarded and offices were thrown open to talent.

Two Classes

Barani informs us that the early Turkish Sultans contemptuously treated the low born people⁴. Iltutmish dismissed thirty three persons from government service on account of their low birth. When he appointed Jamal Marzuq as the *Mutassarif* of Qannauj, on the recommendation of

1. Raverty, p. 829.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 37-39.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 47-48;
Futuh-u's-Salatin, p. 159.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 29-30.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, 'Aziz Bahruz objected to his appointment and recited the following couplet before him¹:

بدست دهن مدد خامه که گردون را مجال افتد
سپه سلجی که دز کعبه است سازد سنگ استلجی

(Do not give the pen (of office) to a low born man for this will embolden the sky to convert the (sacred black) stone of Ka'ba into a stone for wiping urine)

Iltutmish not only cancelled his appointment but instituted an enquiry into the genealogy of Nizam-ul-Mulk himself. When it was found that the Wazir belonged to a weaver family, he also lost the confidence of the Sultan². Thus no low born person could be recommended for an *Iqta'* or appointed to the post of *Khawajgi*, *mushrafi* or *mudabbiri*³. Following the same traditions, Balban dismissed low born persons from all important offices and sharply rebuked his courtiers for having selected Kamal Mahiyar, an Indian Mussalman, for the post of *mutasarrif* in Amroha. "As I am a descendant of Afrasiyab," he declared in his court, "I will not allow any low born person to occupy a high place... When I happen to look at a low born person, my blood begins to boil⁴."

Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani (ob. 1405 A.D.) writes in one of his letters that Balban had made very thorough enquiries about the families of all his officers and government servants. Expert genealogists had assembled in Delhi from all parts of the country to help him in determining the family status of these persons⁵.

Barani is our chief source of information for all these details. Since he himself had similar views about *sharif* and *razil*, it is difficult to determine as to how far he has attributed his own views to Iltutmish and Balban. It should not be forgotten that Barani had singled out three persons—Mahmud of Ghaznin, Balban, and Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi—to weave his own religious and political thought round them⁶. The probability cannot be ruled out that what Barani presents as contemptuous treatment of the low born by Iltutmish and Balban was really the treatment of non-Turks which Barani twisted and misrepresented in order

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 38.

2. *Ibid*, p. 39.

3. *Ibid*, p. 37.

4. *Ibid*, p. 36-37. Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani gives his name as Muhammad Mahiyar and says that he was an expert in accounts (*'ilm-i-muhasiba-o-hindsa*) and was selected for appointment to Chanderi. *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, f. 67a.

5. *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, (MS) f 76a.

6. For details, see *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*.

to suit his own theory of birth. Barani's views as given in his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*¹, however, deserve to be noted:

"It has been said that all men have been created equal, that they are equal in form and appearance, and that every difference that appears between men is due to the effect of their character and the consequences of their actions². The merits and demerits of men have been apportioned at the beginning of time and allotted to their souls. The acts and works of men are due to Divine Commandments; whenever Almighty God instils goodness or wickedness, virtue or vice, in a man, he also grants him the power of manifesting that goodness or wickedness, virtues or vice....³

When during the first generations the children of Adam were born and grew in numbers and the world began to be inhabited, men needed everything for the sake of their livelihood; so the Eternal Designer inspired men's hearts with the arts that were necessary for their existence. Thus some hearts were inspired with the art of letters and writing, others with horsemanship and yet others with weaving, smith-craft and carpentry. So all the arts, fine and coarse, from writing and horsemanship to hair-cutting and tanning, in accordance with the merits and demerits which by their basic nature had been allotted to their souls, were communicated to their minds and breasts.⁴ The possessors of merit, owing to their meritorious nature, were inspired with fine capacities, while to minds involved in meanness, owing to their low natures, only capacities for the baser arts were communicated. In this way the angels inspired the minds of men with various arts, and men adopted different professions and followed them. The arts, crafts and professions for which men have been inspired are practised well by them; and they are able properly to practise only their own specific arts:This aptitude for arts, fine and coarse, is hereditary. And as excellences have been put into those who have adopted the nobler professions, they alone are capable of virtue, kindness, generosity, valour, good deeds, good works, truthfulness, keeping of promises, protection of other classes, loyalty, clarity of vision, justice, equity, recognition of rights, gratitude for favours and fear of God. They are, consequently, said to be noble, free-born, virtuous, religious, of high pedigree and pure birth. These groups alone are worthy of offices and posts in the government... Owing to their actions the government of the king is strengthened and adorned.⁵

On the other hand, the low-born, who have been enrolled for practising the baser arts and the meaner professions, are capable only of immodesty, falsehood, miserliness, misappropriation, vices, wrongfulness, lies, evil-speaking, ingratitude, dirtiness, injustice, cruelty, non-recognition of rights, shamelessness, impudence, blood-shedding, rascality, jugglery and Godlessness. So they are called low-born, bazar-people, base, mean, worthless, plebian, shameless and of dirty birth. Every act which is contaminated with meanness and based on ignominy comes elegantly from them... The promotion of the low and the low-born brings no advantage in this world, for it is impudent to act against the wisdom of creation⁶

Teachers of every kind are to be sternly ordered not to thrust precious stones down the throats of dogs or to put collars of gold round the necks of pigs and beers—that is, to the mean, the ignoble, the worthless, to shopkeepers and the low-born they are to teach nothing more than the rules about prayer, fasting, religious charity and the Haj-pilgrimage along with some chapters of the Quran and some doctrines of the Faith, without which their religion cannot be correct and valid prayers are not possible. They are to be instructed in nothing more lest it bring honour to their mean soul. They are not to be taught reading and writing, for plenty of disorders arise owing to the skill of the low-born in knowledge⁷

1. For details see Prof. Habib's Introduction to and Dr. Afsar Afzaluddin's translation of *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, published in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. III, Parts I and II.

2. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 216 b.

3 and 4. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, ff 217 a, b.

5. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 217 b.

6. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 218 a.

7. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 130 a.

The majority of *hakims* and wise men, ancient and modern, have said on the basis of observation and experience that the great offices appertaining to the administration have not been well discharged by the low-born and the base. If a base-born man has become a ruler, he has striven so far as he could to overthrow men of good birth and to elevate the low-born and the base. The ultimate work of the low-born has never come to any good, and they have never shown loyalty in any contingency. Though owing to the flattery, agility, display of intelligence and jugglery of the low-born and the mean, some sultans have been captivated and have made such people their colleagues and the confidential officers of the kingdom, yet both during their life-time and after their death they have suffered such wounds and injuries from the low-born men they have promoted that regret for what they did will not diminish in their minds through all eternity.¹

Further, if mean, low, base and sordid men, bazar-people and cowards are established on the pillow of high office and succeed in their official work, then according to the principle, every group is inclined towards itself, they make people of their own kind their helpers, supporters, colleagues and assistants in their consultations as well as the work of ordering and command. They make the lowest and the meanest their partners and their intimates and delegate a part and portion of their authority to them. They do not, owing to their nature and their character, allow the nobles, the free-born and men of merit, to come anywhere near the affairs of their government; they consider them their enemies and keep them their enemies. They detest the noble-born and strive for their degradation and overthrow with their hearts and souls. Owing to the promotion of one base and low-born man, many base and low-born men get offices and are respected and honoured. And thus owing to the consequences of the words and actions of a group of low-born men, many chasms are created in the work of government; a number of honourable and meritorious men are degraded and dishonoured.... From the splendour of the base-born only troubles and misfortunes arise.²

But if the king appoints the free-born (*ahrar*), the noble and the possessors of excellent qualities as his helpers and supporters then inevitably owing to their office and command, for owing to their nature and character their actions are praise-worthy the king will not be distressed and bewildered on the Day of Judgment for having to answer to many thousands and thousands of his subjects.³

Wherefrom did Barani get these ideas? How far do they represent a faithful exposition of the view point of the Turkish governing class? Though vital for our study, these questions cannot be answered with certainty. One cannot, however, fail to discover an echo of Hindu caste regulations and Sassanid social behaviour in the political thought of Barani. Whether the Sultans believed in them or not, these views did not find acceptance with the Muslim society in general. Some of the most influential sections of Muslim society, e.g. the mystics, were fiercely opposed to such distinctions. 'Isami does not refer to such distinctions being perpetrated by Balban. Later historians who drew their information about Balban mainly from Barani, did not give any importance to these views. Probably they dismissed them as personal fads of Barani. In fact Muslim public opinion could hardly be made amenable to such ideas. Whatever the Sultans might have thought or done in the political sphere to safeguard their racial and dynastic interests, they could not possibly make such distinctions operative in Muslim society. Amongst the governing class itself, we know at least of one person—Prince

1. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 219 b.

2. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 220 a.

3. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 207 a.

Muhammad—who did not believe in distinctions on the basis of birth¹. Had he succeeded Balban, the policy of the Sultanate with reference to the low born people would have undergone complete change, and a more liberal attitude would have been adopted towards the non-Turkish elements, thus averting all tension between the Turkish and the non-Turkish groups and giving a new lease of life to Turkish rule in India.

Powers and position of the Sultan

Though legal fiction had placed sovereignty in the Khalifa, in practice the Sultan was the actual sovereign and wielded immense power. Since no sanction for the Sultan or the Sultanate was available in the laws of *Shari'at*, the contemporary writers tried to justify it on grounds of *necessity* and said that "if there were no king, men will devour each other²." Influenced by the Greek political thought, the Muslim writers of the middle ages depicted the state as a living organism and the Sultan as its most vital part. Imam Ghazzali compared the Sultan to the heart³ and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir to the head of the human system⁴. A sixteenth century Muslim religious leader went a step further in declaring the Sultan to be the soul and people to be the physical frame.⁵

The Muslim jurists assign the following functions to the Sultan:

1. to protect the faith, as defined by *ijma'*,
2. to settle disputes between his subjects,
3. to defend the territories of Islam, and to keep the roads safe for the travellers,
4. to maintain and enforce the criminal code,
5. to strengthen the frontiers of Muslim territory against possible aggressions,
6. to wage a holy war against those who act in hostility to Islam,
7. to collect the rates and taxes,
8. to apportion the shares of those who deserve an allowance from the public treasury,
9. to appoint officers to help him in his public and legal duties, and
10. to keep in touch with affairs and the conditions of the people by personal contact.⁶

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 68.

2. *Adab-ul-Harb*, f 113a; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 13. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir quotes it as a saying of the Prophet.

3. *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat*, p. 8.

4. *Adab-ul-Harb*, f. 18b.

5. *Maktubat-i-Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani*, Vol. II, p. 67.

6. *Suluk-ul-Muluk*, *Nuh Sipihr*, and *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, as summarised by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 47.

Some of these are simply moral precepts which have little value outside the ethical treatises. In fact the expectations of the people from their rulers differed from group to group. The 'ulama wanted him to champion the cause of religion¹; the governing clique wanted him to act as the guardian of their political interests and privileges; the common man expected peace, security and justice from him. Sometimes the expectations of one group cut across the interests of another group and under such circumstances the Sultan had to formulate his policy with great caution and care. If on one side Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghazanavi and other 'ulama of his school of thought trenchantly criticised the un-Islamic practices of the court of Iltutmish², nobles like Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Salari and Malik Qutb-u'd-din Hasan Ghuri, impressed upon his mind the necessity of following more rigorously all those Persian practices which had placed royalty on a high and dignified pedestal³. Under such circumstances it was political expediency alone which determined the attitude of the rulers.

No ruler, however autocratic he might be, dare flout public opinion though it had no recognized ways of expressing itself. If fear of popular reactions could prevent a ruler like 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji from promulgating a new religion⁴, his predecessors also saw to it that they did not do any thing which injured public feelings on any vital matter. The way in which Razia secured the throne of Delhi⁵ shows that public opinion could become a force and, though seldom expressed, it could change the course of political developments when expressed in definite and forceful manner. At least two contemporary historians of this period—Fakhr-i-Mudabbir⁶ and Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami⁷—clearly appreciated the importance of *Shura* (consultation) in Muslim polity and, though they glorified monarchy and monarchical institutions, they did not underrate the value of the democratic institution of *Shura*. If medieval literature—political and non-political—can supply any clue to the aspirations of the people, it may be safely stated that the people could accept and tolerate any Sultan provided he guaranteed peaceful conditions and administered even-handed justice⁸. It was believed that an unjust

1. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, pp. 13-14; *Adab-ul-Harb*, ff 19a, 29a.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 41.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 31.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 266.

5. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 132.

6. *Adab-ul-Harb*, f. 68.

7. *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, pp. 19-20.

8. See *Siyasat Namah* (p6) where Nizam-ul-Mulk quotes the saying

الملك يبقى مع الكفر ولا يبقى مع الظلم

and shows that government can be carried on successfully by just infidels but not by unjust believers. This view was expressed by Muslim writers on political ethics all through the middle ages.

king disturbed the equilibrium of society and created all-round chaos; while his injustice, greed and avarice resulted in calamities like famine, scarcity of rainfall, economic crisis and shedding of innocent blood¹.

Absence of any definite law of succession had always been a problem with the Muslim states of the middle ages and the Sultanate of Delhi was no exception to it. When Amir Khusrau puts into the mouth of Kaiqubad the words²:

ملک بمیراث نہیاد کسیے نا نزد تیغ دو دستی سے

he expresses the correct position with reference to the Sultanate. Ability to wield sceptre rather than legitimacy was the accepted principle of the period. Notwithstanding the enormous loss of life and waste of material entailed by every war of succession, it eliminated the weaker elements and usually meant survival of the fittest. The way in which rulers were enthroned and dethroned during the period from the death of Iltutmish to the accession of Balban, may be viewed as one long process of search and research for a really gifted man who could equate with the circumstances. With the advent of Balban that struggle came to an end but re-started after his death and continued till 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji appeared on the stage and proved himself to be the ablest of the Khalji revolutionaries.

No Sultan could ignore the nobility and the '*ulama*'; if the one controlled the administrative machinery, the other controlled the public opinion. Their influence on the Sultans and the administration is discussed in the following chapters.

Personal Religion of the Sultans

"A man's religion", says Carlyle, "is the chief fact with regard to him. If you tell me what that is, you tell me to a very great extent what the man is, what the kind of thing he will do, is³." Indeed religion, taken in its widest sense and not merely as a body of doctrines handed down by tradition or contained in some canonical book but as that faculty of faith in man which, independent of all historical religions enables him to apprehend the Infinite and direct his emotions and desires towards an ideal object, is a very vital factor in the life of an individual. It is all the more so in the case of rulers because they live by two morals: the moral of religion and the moral of state. This duality in their thought becomes all the more interesting when it expresses itself in their political conduct.

1. *Adab-ul-Harb*, f. 29a.

2. *Qir'an-us-Sa'dain*, p. 118.

3. *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, p. 10.

Sultan Qutb-u'd-din Aibek had received his early religious training under the fostering care of a distinguished scholar and jurist of Nishapur, Qazi Fakhr-u'd-din 'Abdul 'Aziz Kufi¹, who was known as Abu Hanifa Sani, on account of his piety, scholarship and religious devotion. The Qazi made special arrangements for the teaching of *Quran* and Qutb-u'd-din so distinguished himself in the art of reciting the holy Book that he became known as *Quran Khwan*². When he ascended the throne he extended his patronage to scholars, jurists, the reciters of *Quran*, pious men and reformers³. No details about his personal religious attitude are found in contemporary records except a few general observations about his respect for the laws of *Shari'at*⁴ and care for the religious classes⁵. Amongst the scholars who basked in the sunshine of his royal favours, the names of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Iftikhar 'Ali b. 'Umar al-Mahmudi⁶, Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami and Maulana Baha-u'd-din Ushi⁷ may be particularly mentioned.

It is seldom that a man's disposition and character is determined by an accident. In the case of Iltutmish it was really an accident which determined his religious thought and behaviour. He was hardly ten when he fell a victim to the jealousy of his brothers, who brought him to the slave-market of Bukhara and sold him to a kinsman of Sadr-i-Jahan (the Chief Ecclesiastic). The Sadr-i-Jahan's family was of honourable descent and enjoyed a religious reputation. Minhaj calls it خانوادۀ امارت و تصدیر (priestly and saintly family) and eulogizes its بزرگی و طہارت (eminence and sanctity). Here this young slave was treated as a member of the family. While in this house a very small incident took place; but it left a very deep impression on his mind. "On a certain occasion one of the members of the family gave him a piece of money and ordered him to go to the bazar and buy some grapes. He went to the bazar and on the way lost the piece of money. Being of tender age, he began to cry for fear and while he was weeping, a Faqir came to him and took his hand, purchased some grapes and gave them to him, saying: 'When you obtain wealth and dominion, take care that you show respect to Faqirs and maintain their rights!'"...This incident made such a deep impression on his young mind that we shall not be far from the

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 138; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 21.

2. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-uddin Mubarak Shah*, p. 21.

3. *Taj-ul-Ma'asir* (MS) p. 466; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 35.

4. e.g. Hasan Nizami writes:

”ہمت بلند بر احياء معالم شريعت و اعلائے اعلام سنت مقصور و موقوف

داشت“ *Taj-ul-Ma'asir* p. 4.

5. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 35;

6. *Lubab-ul-Albab*, Vol. I, p. 203.

7. *Lubab-ul-Albab*, Vol. I, pp. 188-189.

truth if we trace to it the first germination of mystic love in him. Long afterwards he related this incident in his court and said:

هر دولت و سلطنت كه يافتم از نظر آن درويش يافتم ا

(Whatever of royalty and honour devolved upon me came through the benediction of that very saint).

After a short stay at Bukhara, Iltutmish somehow reached Baghdad which was a great spiritual centre at this time and hundreds of eminent mystics had constructed their hospices there. The enlightening discourses and sermons of such distinguished personalities as Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi,² Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti³, Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Kirmani⁴, Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri⁵ and others had filled the entire atmosphere with mystic ideas. The bank of the Tigris was studded all along with mosques and Khanqahs and a mystic breeze blew over the entire landscape. Masjid-i-Kankari, Masjid-i-Abu-Lais Samarqandi and Masjid-i-Junaid Baghdadi were the principal centres of mystic activity and teeming crowds flocked there.

Iltutmish was also breathing this atmosphere. Two anecdotes show that he imbibed fully the pervading spirit. His master was a religious-minded man and he very often vacated his house for the mystics to hold their music parties. One night a music party was arranged in this house. Many eminent mystics, like Qazi Hamid-u'd-din and others, were invited there. The young Iltutmish kept standing throughout the whole night and devotedly served these Sufis by removing the burnt wick from the candle⁶.

Another story is more significant and clearly shows Iltutmish's faith in these divines. One day he went to the Khanqah of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi and presented a few coins to the Shaikh. The Shaikh recited the *Fatihah* and then remarked: "I see gleams of royalty shining on the forehead of this man". Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Kirmani who was present there also blessed him⁷.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 167.

2. For brief biographical notice, see *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 307-308.

3. See, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 45-46; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 4; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 22-24.

4. *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 385-387.

5. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 36-43.

6. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 119; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, I, p. 62; *Ferishtah*, pp. 62-66.

7. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, (MS), p. 27.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once told his audience about Iltutmish:
 "او خدمت شیخ شهاب الدین سهروردی را و شیخ اوحدا الدین کرمانی را رحمتہ الہ
 علیہم دریافتہ بود - ویکے از ینہا گفتہ بود کہ بادشاہ خواہی شد" ۱
 (He had gained access to Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi and
 Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Kirmani (May the blessings of God be on
 them). One of them had prophesied that he would be a king.)

The apocryphal *malfuz* of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki contains the following story: "Once I (Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki) was present in the company of my *pir*, Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti in Baghdad. Many mystics of repute were there. It so happened that a lad of twelve passed by that way, with a bow in his hand. Incidentally these mystics glanced at him and prompt were the words that came from the lips of the Khwaja: "This lad will be the ruler of Delhi²".

Having passed his early years in this spiritual atmosphere of Baghdad, Iltutmish came to India as a slave of Qutb-u'd-din Aibek. He was entrusted with the *iqta'* of Gwalior and was later on appointed to the governorship of Bada'un. Bada'un was one of the earliest centres of Muslim culture. Hundreds of Muslim martyrs lie buried there³. Many eminent mystics who came to India subsequent to Shihab-u'd-din's invasion settled there. Distinguished saints, like Shaikh Fath ullah, Shaikh Wajih-u'd-din, Khwaja 'Ali Bukhari lived and died there. A simple anecdote, mentioned in several hagiological works, shows that Iltutmish was influenced by the mystic atmosphere of this place. One day he was going out to play *chaugan*⁴ a very aged man came forward, stretched out his hand and begged for alms. Iltutmish did not give him anything. A few steps further he came across a stout young man and at once took out some gold pieces from his purse and delivered them to him. Later he turned to his companions and asked: "Do you know why I did not give anything to that old beggar, while I gave to this young man unasked?" His companions, who were themselves surprised at this strange standard of charity, could not make any reply to this query. Then Iltutmish himself said:

"اگر خواست من بودے پیر را دادمے، پس ہر کرا می دہد خدا می دہد، من چہ کلم"
 (Had it been left to my choice, I would have preferred to give (alms) to that old beggar; but whatever is bestowed is bestowed by Him. I am helpless).

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 212.

2. *Fawa'id-u's-Salikin* (MS) 810 b. This work is apocryphal but as it is an early fabrication it embodies the current traditions and stories about Iltutmish. That this story had a basis is clear from the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, (p. 212).

3. Vide *Tazkirat-u'l-Wasilin* (a detailed account of the saints of Bada'un) by Razi-u'd-din pp. 9-10.

4. *Medieval polo*.

A deep mystic note underlies this sentence. Its significance can be estimated by the fact that it was often repeated by spiritual mentors before their disciples while explaining predestination and preaching "faith in Divine action¹."

These anecdotes serve as so many clues to explain the Sultan's excessive interest in mystics and divines. With these instances in mind, many of his later actions which otherwise would seem to be freaks of an eccentric nature, appear to mark a stage in the development of his religious thought that was nurtured at Bukhara, Baghdad, Bada'un and Delhi—all conspicuous religious centres. It was from these places that he imbibed an esoteric spirit of religion.

Even after his accession he continued to take keen interest in religious devotions and exercises. He offered his obligatory prayers punctually². Special arrangements were made for congregational prayers when he went out on military expeditions³. Preachers and *imams* accompanied him wherever he went and he heard their sermons regularly. While in Uchch, with the royal tent pitched in front of the fort, he asked Minhaj-us-Siraj to deliver discourses in his tent⁴. Ordinarily he heard sermons thrice a week, but during the month of Ramazan daily sermons were arranged⁵. Many religious meetings were held in the palace and were attended by eminent saints and divines. After Friday prayers a special meeting was convened in which the grandees, nobles and saints participated⁶. Balban used to say that he never saw such a brilliant assembly of scholars and divines in any other court⁷.

"The probability is", declares Minhaj, "that there was never a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kind heartedness and reverence towards recluses, devotees, divines and doctors of law and religion, ever enwrapped from the mother of creation in the swaddling bands of dominion."⁸ It is mentioned in the *malfuz* of Sayyid Muhammad

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 212;

Fawa'id-u's-Salikin, (MS) f. 20a.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 30.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175; *Raverty*, p. 615; see also *Adab-u'l-Harb* for an interesting discussion on arrangement for prayers on battlefields.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

6. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 112 (MS). The printed text (p. 169) does not contain this passage. The MS runs:

روز جمعه بعد نماز اکبر و اشراف و مشایخ با سلطان حلقه کرده نشاند

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 70.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 167; *Tarikh-i-Haqqi* MS f. 7a.

Gesu Daraz that Iltutmish used to visit paupers, mendicants and destitutes *incognito*¹ at night and distributed money to them. Whenever he heard about the arrival of some saint from the central Asian lands, he went out for miles to receive him and insisted on his stay in the palace. He warmly welcomed Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki² on his arrival in Delhi. He went out several miles to receive Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi³. Once Shaikh Badr u'd-din Ghaznavi went to see him in his palace. The Sultan received him at the palace door, clasped him in his arms and led him in. In the same cordial way he received Qazi Qutb-u'd-din Kashani and conducted him to his chamber⁴. He respectfully addressed Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Nakhshabi as 'Father'⁵.

It is said about Iltutmish that he would sit all day long in the court and attend to the business of administration, but at night he spread his prayer carpet and bent his knees before the Almighty⁶. Once a very severe famine broke out in Delhi, Iltutmish sent a courtier to all the saints of the capital and requested them to pray⁷.

Iltutmish's buildings also exhibit his religious sentiments. In Hauz-i-Shamsi⁸ particularly one can see the reflection of his religious feelings. It was constructed in compliance with a wish of the Holy Prophet who, it is said, appeared to him in a dream and asked him to build a tank at the very place where he stood⁹ and talked to him. While this tank was being constructed, Iltutmish threw a flask of *zamzam* water into it¹⁰. Built under religious inspiration, the Hauz-i-Shamsi became a centre of religious activity. Many saints and recluses constructed their *hujrahs* in its vicinity and a small mosque, which still goes by the name of Auliya Masjid,

1. *Jawami'-u'l-Kilam* p. 269 ; see also, *Fawa'id-us-Salikin*, f. 10a.

2. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* p. 20.

3. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 20.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 236.

5. *Saroor-us-Sudur* (MS).

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 213.

”بعد ازاں از عقیدہ او حکایت فرمود کہ شبہا بیدار بودے و هیچ
کس را بیدار نہ کردے“

The apocryphal *malfuz*, *Fawa'id-u'l-Salakin*, develops this remark further (p.19).

7. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 99 (MS); *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 45.

8. Vide *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Carr Stephens, pp. 68-70.

9. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 26; *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, (MS); *Fawa'id-u's-Salikin* (MS) p. 18; *Jawahir-i-Faridi* (MS); *Ferishtah* pp. 381-382.

10. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 115-117.

was also constructed by them.¹ As it was believed that the Prophet had placed his sacred feet there, a religious sanctity hallowed the tank². Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya often talked in his mystic gatherings about the *برکت* and *عذوبت* of this tank. He told his audience that once Iltutmish appeared to a man in his dream and said that it was for the construction of this tank that the Almighty had sent him to heaven³.

Of all the sons and daughters of Iltutmish, Nasir-u'ddin Mahmud was the most deeply religious-minded. In him the religious aspect of Iltutmish's personality had found its fullest expression. Numerous stories about his piety and devotion have been recorded by the chroniclers. "Some of these stories", remarks Bada'uni, "resemble the narratives regarding the rightly directed *Khalifas*⁴." Khusrau calls him a 'king of the angelic temperament', and lavishly praises him for his religious attributes⁵. 'Isami includes him among the favourites of God and considers him endowed with the attributes of saints and apostles⁶.

Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud entrusted all the affairs of government to Balban and devoted himself to the discipline of his soul⁷. He was very particular about his prayers and fasts.⁸ The religious spirit had gone so deep in him that he would put on his regal robes on the occasion of a public audience only. Normally he used to wear an old ragged garment⁹. He had great regard for the ecclesiastics¹⁰ and bestowed huge sums upon them. His respect for the Prophet was so great that he never uttered his name without proper ablutions.¹¹

1. *Waqiat-i-Dar-u'l-Hakumat Delhi*, also Carr Stephens pp. 67-70 (n). The mosque is situated in an enclosure about 54 feet long and 36 feet broad; the walls are very low, scarcely three feet high in some places. In its western wall is the *masjid* which consists of an arched recess about 6 feet high. In front of the *masjid* are two slabs of sandstone which are supposed to mark the spots where Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din and his disciple Qutb-u'd-din, offered their prayers.

2. For Khusrau's praise of the tank see *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain* pp. 33-36.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 119.

4. *Muntakhab-u't-Tuwarikh* Vol. I, p. 90.

5. *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 22.

6. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 156.

7. Khusrau says:

خود او مستغرق کار الهی با مرش بندگان در کار شاهی

Dawal Rani Khizr Khan p. 50.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 207.

9. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 89. Bada'uni himself does not seem to be certain of this. He reports this with the words: *در افواه چنانست*

10. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 207; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 72-3.

11. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Vol. I, p. 74.

The Sultan devoted most of his time to making manuscript copies of the *Quran*¹. These copies were sold in the bazar and the Sultan subsisted mostly on their proceeds². Fazuni Astarabadi, a historian of the Mughal period, says that he had sent some of these copies even to Mecca to be sold there in the market³. He took special care to see that no one recognised his hand-writing and paid more than its fair value⁴. Nizam-u'd-din says that he completed two copies in a year⁵. Ibn Battutah saw one of these specimens of royal calligraphy and appreciated its penmanship⁶.

Alone among the Sultans of Delhi, Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud did not take anything from the *Bait-ul-Mal* for his personal expenses. He made a distinction between his privy purse and the public treasury. 'Isami says:⁷

یکے حبہ از دخل ہندوستان پیئے نفس خود آن شہ کامران
نکردہ تصرف دران بست سال بدے محترز دائم از بیت مال

His wife cooked his food and acted as a maid servant⁸.

Balban, like other contemporary Turkish nobles, was fond of a gay life, but when he ascended the throne he changed his ways completely⁹ and adopted almost a stoic attitude towards life. It was his sense of royal duty which acted as a great restraining force on his passions. He offered his prayers regularly and kept fasts during the month of Ramazan. He used to keep vigils frequently. Besides the five obligatory prayers, he offered *ishraq*, *chasht*, *awabin* and *tahajjud*¹⁰ prayers, and recited certain litanies (*aurad*) regularly. He did not miss his prayers or *aurad* even when on journey¹¹. Bughra Khan's remark that no scholar or saint could offer so many prayers

1. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 156.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 26; '*Aja'ib-u'l-Asfar*, p. 56.

3. *Buhaira*, p. 12.

4. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, I, p. 90; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 77; *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, I, p. 74.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 77.

6. '*Aja'ib-u'l-Asfar*, pp. 56-57;

Edward Thomas thinks that this penmanship of the Sultan had "its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance upon the earlier mintage in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters." (*Chronicles*, pp. 124-125). He considers an inscription at Aligarh to represent the handwriting of the Sultan (pp. 129-130).

7. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 156; See also, *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Vol. I, p. 71.

8. *Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 90; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 77.

9. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

10. In addition to the five compulsory (*farz*) prayers, the Muslims have five recommended (or *sunnat*) prayers, *ishraq*, after sunrise, *chasht*, in the forenoon, *zawal* after midday, *awabin* at twilight and *tahajjud* between midnight and early dawn. All other prayers belong to a third category of *nafl* or supererogatory prayers.

11. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

or keep so many fasts as Balban did¹, though a bit exaggerated, shows the extent of his interest in prayers. Even a man like Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya could not help praising his religious devotion and his regularity in offering prayers². The great Shaikh, it may be pointed out, praised only two medieval monarchs for their religious views—Iltutmish and Balban, both of whom had succeeded in winning the sympathies of the Muslim religious classes due to their religious devotions. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya further narrated a story about the keenness of Balban in offering supererogatory prayers. Once he asked his *Qazi-i- Lashkar*³: "What was the significance of the last night"? The Qazi replied: "This is known to you also". "Yes," said the Sultan. The Shaikh had narrated the story so far that Amir Hasan Sijzi interrupted and said: "The night referred to must have been *shab-i-qadr*." "Yes," continued the Shaikh, "both of them (the Sultan and the *qazi*) knew each other's affairs."⁴

Balban dealt very strictly with his sons so far as obligatory prayers were concerned. If he ever heard that Bughra or Muhammad had missed a single prayer or had remained asleep in the morning and had not offered prayers in congregation, he would not talk to them for a whole month. Whenever the defaulter appeared before him, he angrily turned his face from him⁵. He exhorted his sons to remember the following sayings of the Prophet: "*Offering prayers in congregation is my practice, whoever gives it up is a hypocrite.*" "*Whoever gives up prayers is condemned*"⁶.

Balban was on the best of terms with the theologians and saints. He invited them to his meals and discussed religious problems with them⁷. Notwithstanding his high notions about the dignity of kings, he visited their houses also. He was keenly interested in religious sermons (*tazkir*) and often attended such gatherings and wept profusely⁸. Whenever he heard about the death of any saint, Sayyid or scholar of the city, he attended his funeral and offered funeral prayers; joined the function on the third day of his death, consoled the bereaved family and granted stipends to survivors⁹.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 155.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 231-232.

3. Barani informs us that Balban was particularly considerate towards the *qazis* of the army (*qazian-i-lashkar*) and often accepted their recommendations. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 47.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 231-232; The 27th night of the month of Ramazan is called *shab-i-qadr*.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 155.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 102.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

8. *Ibid*, p. 47.

9. *Ibid*, pp. 46-47.

Of the *'ulama* to whom Balban showed special respect, Qazi Sharaf-u'd-din, Maulana Siraj-u'd-din Sijzi and Maulana Najm-u'd-din Damishqi may be specially mentioned¹. He regularly visited Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Mahmud bin 'Ali al-Khair al-Balkhi² after the Friday prayers. He had great faith in Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan. Before ascending the throne, he went to see him and presented a dish full of coins to him, with a view to receiving the Shaikh's blessings³. Hagiologists have referred to his respectful relations with Shaikh 'Ali Chishti⁴ and Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Panipati. He prevented the former from quitting Delhi and threatened to abdicate and accompany him to Chisht if he decided to go there⁵. A later writer⁶ says that Balban had become the disciple of Shaikh 'Ali Chishti. This statement is not confirmed by earlier authorities.

Balban evinced great interest in religion so far as his personal life was concerned, but, as Barani very correctly remarks, he never cared for the laws of *shari'at* in dealing with those who defied his authority or who were found guilty of any political crimes⁷.

Balban's successor, Sultan Mu'izz-u'd-din Kaiqubad, plunged headlong into the pursuit of pleasure. He neglected his obligatory prayers and ignored obligatory fasts.⁸

Relations with the Caliph

Though the Caliphate of Baghdad was fast disintegrating and had, by this time, become the phantom of a forgotten glory, it was almost an

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

The Maulana was a great scholar of his age. Pupil of Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan Saghani, author of *Mashariq*, and Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Marghinani, author of *Hidayah*, he was justly respected as one of the leading scholars of the day. Vide *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, pp. 45-46.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 79-80.

The Shaikh, who was endowed with remarkable intuitive intelligence realized the purpose of Ulugh Khan's visit and recited the following quatrain:

فریدوں فرخ فرشته نبود ز عود و ز علیر سرشته نبود
ز داد و دهش یافت آن خسروی تو داد و دهش کن فریدوں توئی

(Faridun, the blessed was not an angel; he was not made of aggallochum or ambergis. He attained that position of kingship through his bounty and liberality. Thou shouldst bestow liberally and Faridun is thee.)

'Ali Asghar Chishti's statement (*Jawahir-i-Faridi*, MS), that Balban had given one of his daughters in marriage to Shaikh Farid is unfounded and may be rejected as a later concoction fondly circulated by uncritical minds. See also, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 103.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 212-213.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 186.

6. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, by 'Abdur Rahman Chishti (MS)

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 47.

8. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 154.

article of orthodox belief to regard the *Khalifah* as the final authority¹ and the legal sovereign. Khalil bin Shahin al-Zahiri says that no king of the east or west could hold the title of *Sultan* unless there was a covenant between him and the *Khalifah*.² It was probably for this reason that Iltutmish celebrated with great eclat the grant of *manshur* (caliphal mandate) by the *Khalifah*, Muntansir.³ It cannot be said definitely whether Iltutmish had applied for this *manshur* or the *Khalifah* had sent it of his own accord and on his own initiative. Be it as it may, it considerably enhanced his prestige and gave him a better title against his rivals. The *Khalifah's* name was inscribed on the coins and pronounced from the pulpits at least four years before the receipt of this *manshur* and the formal recognition of the Delhi Sultanate⁴.

In 1258 Hulagu sacked Baghdad and put Musta'sim to death. Though the Sultans of Delhi were fully aware of the fate of Baghdad⁵ at the hands of the Mongols, they continued Musta'sim's name on the coins for about forty years after this event. It was, in fact, an expression of the sentiment: "*The Khalifah is dead, long live the Khalifah.*"⁶ But this devotion to the *Khilafat* could not blind them to realities. Hardly two⁷ years had passed since the barbarous sack of Baghdad by Hulagu that his emissaries visited Delhi and were given a royal reception. More than two lac footmen and fifty thousand horsemen lined up the entire route

1. Taj-u'd-din Reza, a poet of this period, was mishandled by some person. He submitted a versified complaint to the Sultan in which he said:

اگر دادے نیابم این ستم را دوم زین خاک خون آشام برباد
ز آب چشم امیرالمومنین را نسایم دجاء دیگر به بغداد

2. *Caliphate*, Arnold, pp. 101-102.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 174; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 60. Some of the verses of a *qasidah* which Taj Reza composed on this occasion deserve to be quoted:

شادی عامست در شهر انیکه بهر شهریار خلعت خاص امیرالمومنین آورده اند
مرکبے زین شان مبارک خلعت مسیوں چلیں از برائے ظل یزداں شمس دین آورده اند

4. N. Wright, p. 18.

5. It is sometimes suggested that the Sultans continued the name of the *Khalifah* on the coins because they were not aware of the fate of *Khilafat*. This is not correct. Minhaj has given detailed account of the irruption of Mongols in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. Besides, the elegy which Sa'di wrote on the fall of Baghdad had reached Delhi. Large number of Muslim refugees had come to Delhi from Central Asian lands during the reign of Balban and were well received at the Delhi court.

6. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* p. 37.

7. Yahya Sirhindi, however, says that in the very year of the sack of Baghdad, i.e. 656 H (1258 A.D.) embassies from Turkistan reached the Sultan who rewarded them with rich presents and valuable gifts. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 38.

from the town of Kilugarhi to the royal palace, while twenty rows of spectators and officials assembled there to welcome the Mongol emissaries.¹ The court chronicle would have us believe that all this was done to impress the Mongols with the glory and greatness of the Sultan but the desire to please and placate the Mongol ruler was an equally strong reason for the welcome given to them.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 317-319; *Ferishtah*, p. 73. See also the poem recited by Minhaj on this occasion, p. 319.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOVERNING CLASS

Recruitment and Promotions

(Next to the Sultan, the nobles occupied a pivotal position in the political set-up of the Sultanate in the thirteenth century. It would, however, be wrong to consider them a recognized hereditary aristocracy of the Western type. At a time when the concept of a hereditary monarchy itself was in the offing, a hereditary aristocracy was completely out of question. In fact, it was very rarely that the father's office and title were conferred on his son. Usually a noble began his career as a slave or a retainer of the Sultan and after passing through a long and graduated system attained the status of an *amir* and got an assignment in the form of *iqta'*. This long and exacting process acted like a sieve in sifting the competent from the incompetent. Basically the Samanid system, as described by Nizam-ul-Mulk¹, was adopted by the Sultans of Delhi, but it could not be copied out in all its details in India since there was a constant demand of efficient and capable men to shoulder administrative responsibilities in the newly conquered regions. Moreover, in a non-Turkish land like India, the Turks considered it humiliating and derogatory to their dignity as the governing race to serve on low posts.² Naturally, therefore, in India a slave reached the highest rung of the ladder in a much shorter period than in other Muslim lands.

All these future administrators and *iqta'dars* started their careers in the imperial household. Usually a new entrant was assigned any one of the following services:

- (i) *Chashni-gir*³
- (ii) *Sar-jandar*⁴
- (iii) *Amir-i-Majlis*⁵

1. *Siyasat Namah*, pp. 74-75; See *supra*, p. 24.

2. See *Futuh-u's-Salatin* (p. 123), for the protest of Turks against assigning menial work to Balban.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 232. The *Chashni-gir* supervised the kitchen and tasted the food.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 236-237, 252. Picked soldiers who acted as bodyguard were called *jandar* and their commander was styled as *sar-jandar*.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 238. The *amir-i-majlis* was responsible for organizing the Sultan's private parties, where the Sultan met his friends. See, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 70.

- (iv) *Saqi-i-Khas*¹
- (v) *Sar-Abdar*²
- (vi) *Tasht-dar*³
- (vii) *Jam-dar*⁴
- (viii) *Naib-Chashni-gir*⁵
- (ix) *Sar-Jamdar*⁶
- (x) *Khasah-dar*⁷
- (xi) *Saqi*⁸
- (xii) *Naib-Sar-Jamdar*⁹
- (xiii) *Yuzban*¹⁰.

Promotions depended exclusively on merit and personal achievements. There were slaves like Nasir-u'd-din Aitmar al-Bahai¹¹, Saif-u'd-din Aibek¹², Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Qaraqas Khan¹³ and Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Aitigin¹⁴ who were given charge of *iqta's* after serving for sometime in only one of the above mentioned posts, but there were others, like Taj-u'd-din Sanjar Kaz-Lakkhan¹⁵,

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 242, 250. The *sharab-dar* was responsible for drinks which were served by the *saqi-i-khas*. See, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 62.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 252. It may also be read as *sharab-dar*. He was the 'head keeper of drinks'. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 62.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 254. The *tasht-dar* was the ewer-bearer who helped the Sultan in his ablutions.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 256. The person who kept the royal wardrobe was known as *jam-dar*.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 261.

6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 259.

7. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 265, 282.

The person under whose supervision food was served was known as *khasahdar*.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 268.

9. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 279.

10. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 248.

Yuzban was keeper of the hunting leopards. Raverty, p. 745.

11. He started as *sar-jandar*, but after sometime he was given the *iqta'* of Lahore. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 236.

12. He was first appointed as *amir-i-majlis* and later Sarsuti was assigned to him. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 238.

13. He was appointed as *saqi-i-khas* and later the *iqta's* of Barbahwan and Darnakwan were given to him. After sometime he became *shahna-i-khalasat-i-Tabarhind*. During the reign of Iltutmish he got Multan. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 250.

14. His initial appointment was as *sar-jandar*. Later he was given the *iqta'* of Mansurpur and later on Bada'un was assigned to him. Subsequently he was appointed *amir-hajib*. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 253.

15. He was first appointed *chashni-gir*, then *amir-akhur* and later Multan and Gujarat were assigned to him. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 232.

Qamar-u'd-din Qairan Tamar Khan¹, Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Altuniah², Taj-u'd-din Sanjar³, Tabar Khan, Saif-u'd-din Aibek Khitai⁴, Taj-u'd-din Arsalan Khan Sanjar Khwarazmi⁵ and 'Izz-u'd-din Balban Kishlu Khan⁶, who had to serve on two posts before receiving an *iqta'* and this seems to have been the general practice. In some cases the grant of an *iqta'* was delayed due to some dereliction in the performance of duties. 'Izz-u'd-din Tughril Tughan Khan was first appointed *sagi-i-khas*, then *dawat-dar*, then *chashni-gir* and then *amir-i-akhur* and subsequently the *iqta'* of Bada'un was assigned to him. This delay was probably due to the fact that during his term as *dawat-dar* he had lost the royal inkpot (*dawat-i-murasa-i-khas*)⁷ and, as a punishment for this, he had to pass through a longer period of apprenticeship than was the normal practice during the early Turkish period. Hindu Khan was another such case. He had to go through the offices of *yuzban*, *shulah-dar*, *tasht-dar* and *khazanah-dar* before being entrusted with the government of Uchch. There was one more unusual thing with Hindu Khan. While most of the *maliks* were relieved of their duties in the imperial household after assignment of *iqta's*, Hindu Khan retained his office of *tasht-dar*. Minhaj writes:

هرگز تا آخیر عمر دست از طشت داری
نداشت و همچنان خدمت طشت خاص می کرد⁸

(He did not ever give up the office of *tasht-dar* and continued to perform the duties of personal ewer-bearer.)

Service in the imperial household was a serious discipline which did not merely qualify a man for shouldering more responsible public duties but imbued him with the administrative ideals and principles of the Turkish Sultans. The imperial household, in fact, served as a nursery in preparing the administrative personnel of the Delhi Sultanate.

1. He was first appointed *naib-amir-akhur*, then *amir-akhur* and then he became the *muqta'i* of Qannauj. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 247-248.

2. He was first appointed *sar-abdar*, later *sar-chatrdar*. Then he was given the *iqta'* of Baran. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 251.

3. He was appointed *amir-i-akhur*, then *naib amir-i-hajib* and Janjana was assigned to him. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 259-261.

4. He was appointed *sar-jamdar*, then *sar-jandar*, and then he got the *iqta'* of Samana and Kuhram. Later he was appointed *wakil-i-dar*. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 259.

5. He was appointed *khasah-dar*, then *chashni-gir* and then he got the *iqta'* of Balaram. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 265-268.

6. He was appointed *sagi*, then *sharab-dar* and then the *iqta'* of Kaliwar was assigned to him. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 268-273.

7. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 242.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 249.

Racial Compositions

(Almost all the *maliks* of this period were of Turkish origin. They belonged either to the *Khita'i*¹, *Qara-khita*², *Qipchaq*³, *Garji*⁴, or the *Ilbari*⁵ tribes of the Turkish race. It appears that some of them were not Muslims when they were purchased or admitted to the imperial slave-household. While giving an account of the Mu'izzi and the Qutbi Maliks, Minhaj remarks about Badr-u'd-din Sanqar Rumi⁶:

او مسلمان زاده بود و به بندگی افتاد

(He was the son of a Muslim but became a slave).

Does it mean that other slaves were not Muslims when they found admittance into the imperial service?

Though the majority of nobles during the thirteenth century belonged to the category of slaves, the influx of Muslim refugees from central Asian lands introduced a new element in the body politic. Since many of these immigrants belonged to distinguished ruling families and had long record of administrative experience, they were readily taken into the administration by Iltutmish. The Turkish nobility, however, resented the influence which they soon came to exercise in the administrative sphere. Iltutmish's vigilance and tact avoided a conflict between these foreign *amirs* and the *Turkan-i-chahlgani*, but after his death many of the old refugee families were ousted from positions of power and authority. Barani⁷ writes: "As a result of the predominance of the Shamsi Turkish slaves, all those grandees and

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 238.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 242, 249, 252.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 247, 256, 258, 262.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 259.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 276, 281.

6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 254.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 27. And again he remarks:

بلدگان ترک کہ ایشان را چهلگانی می گفتند بر امور ملکی مستولی شدند و با قوت و شوکت گشتند، ماوک احرار و معارف اشراف را پیوست تخت شمس نامور و معتبر بودند، از میان برداشتند

(When the Turkish slaves, who were known as *Turkan-i-Chahlgani* (The Forty) dominated the administration and became strong and awe-inspiring, they removed those free-born maliks and dignitaries who enjoyed fame and were in the confidence of Sultan Shams-u'd-din).

Minhaj makes no reference to *Turkan-i-Chahlgani* as a group. Barani refers to their rivalries but does not give any details about the basis of their corporate life. It was probably the growing assertion of the Indian elements in the body politic which led the Turkish maliks to organize themselves into a corporate body known as *Chahlganian*. Barani says (p. 65) that every one of them had the title of *khan*, which signified the uppermost grade of nobility.

their descendants whose ancestors were *maliks*, or sons of *maliks*, or *wazir* or sons of *wazirs*, were destroyed on various pretexts during the reign of those sons of Sultan Shams-u'd-din who knew nothing about the world around them or the requirements of kingship."

Another section which had gradually worked its way to positions of authority was of the Indian born *maliks*, like 'Imad-u'd-din Raihan. Since their position was stronger than that of the foreigners on account of their closer links with the people, the Turkish nobility never tolerated their appointment to any post of honour or authority. While the Turkish nobility always looked for opportunities of suppressing them, some of the Sultans sought to strengthen them as a counterpoise against the Turkish nobles.

Besides the three above-mentioned groups some Mongol *amirs* and *maliks*, who had embraced Islam during the reign of Balban and had settled in India, began to aspire for positions of authority in the Sultanate. The Turkish nobility treated them also as a dangerous rival element in political life. It was at the persuasion of Nizam-u'd-din that Kaiqubad executed these Mongol nobles¹.

These four elements—diverse in character, differing in status, training and influence—constituted the nobility of this period. The pre-eminent position was, no doubt, that of the Turkish nobility which constituted the real governing class, but whenever their inordinate ambition brought them into conflict with the crown, the Sultan encouraged and supported the other elements.

The *Iqta'* System

An important feature of the bureaucratic organization of the Delhi Sultanate was the system of granting *iqta's* to important officers and *maliks*. Literally the word *iqta'* means a portion; technically it was the land or revenue assigned by the ruler to an individual². It may consist of:

- (a) the granting of a whole province as a fief to a governor, as well as the granting of a few fields in return for tithe (*'ushr*) or taxes (*kharaj*) or rent (*kharaj-i-ujara*) or a poll tax afterwards converted into *kharaj*;

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 133. See also, *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 186-188.

2. For details, see M. Sobernheim's article on *Iqta'* in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 461-463; C. H. Becker's article in *Der Islam*, V 1914; Nicola A. Ziadeh's article on *Mamluk Syria and Iqta'* in *The Islamic Literature* (Lahore, October 1951, pp. 33-39); *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, W.H. Moreland, Appendix pp. 216-223.

- (b) the allotment of the revenue from a piece of land as salary or pension. The conception of *iqta'* was then extended and used to mean the farming of taxes and customs, duties and tolls on rivers and canals¹.

The *iqta'* has existed since the early days of Islam as a form of reward for service to the state. It was from the time of the Buwayids that the process of its militarization began. The Buwayids gave their soldiers and *amirs* rent of lands in guarantee of their pay, or part thereof. The Seljuqs distributed the estates as fiefs to the troops. The beneficiary retained all the revenues of the district assigned to him and the only duty that he owed to the central government was personal service in the army. If the assignment was an important one, he was bound to take with him a contingent of soldiers.

During the Seljuq period there were at least five types of *iqta's*². Of these the administrative *iqta'* was, by far, the most important. It was a military grant, no doubt, but carried with it some administrative duties also.

Rules about the *iqta'* and the position of the *muqta'i* (holder of *iqta'*) have been thus described by Nizam-u'l-Mulk: "The *muqta'is* should know that their right over the subjects is only to take the rightful amount of money or perquisite (*mal-i-haqq*) in a peaceful manner...the life, property and the family of the subject should be immune from any harm, the *muqta'is* have no right over them; if the subject desires to make a direct appeal to the Sultan, the *muqta'i* should not prevent him. Every *muqta'i* who violates these laws should be dismissed and punished...the *muqta'is* and *walis* are so many superintendents over them as the king is superintendent over other *muqta'is*...After three or four years, the *amils* and the *muqta'is* should be transferred so that they may not be too strong³".

As soon as the first phase of their military operations in northern India came to an end, the Turks found themselves confronted with a number of complicated administrative problems. Their resources, as compared with the territory they were called upon to rule, were meagre. India had till then been governed through Rajput feudal lords. This had given rise to a number of local problems which could be tackled only at a local level. The Turks lost no time in realizing that effective administration over a vast territory, with so many fissiparous tendencies working inside and the external pressure

1. *The Ency. of Islam*, II p. 461.

2. *The Crusading Warfare* (1097-1193), R. C. Smail, pp. 64-65.

3. *Siyasat Namah*, p. 37; as translated by A.B.M. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 234.

increasing on its frontiers, was not possible without evolving an effective local apparatus to help the centre in integrating its resources and consolidating its power. The *iqta'* system, as it worked in India during the thirteenth century, was a device to meet these requirements of the time.

Aibek and Iltutmish derived full advantage from this system. They used it as an instrument for liquidating the feudal order of Indian society and linking up the far-flung parts of the Empire to one centre. Through it they satisfied also the cupidity of the Turkish governing class, and solved the urgent problem of maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenues in the newly conquered territories.

These assignments had, perforce, to be of two types: big and small, though both of them were designated as *iqta'*. No details about their distinctive features are available in contemporary records, but it appears that the smaller assignments—as were made in favour of two thousand Turkish *amirs* in the Doab¹—carried neither any administrative duties nor any financial liabilities to the central exchequer. These small *iqta'dars* were permitted simply to realize revenues of some portion of land in lieu of military service. The large *iqta's*, which were given to men of position, carried administrative responsibilities with them and the assignee was expected to maintain law and order in his territory and supply contingents to the centre in times of emergency. The revenues were collected by the *Iqta'dar* and after deducting all the expenses incurred by him he remitted the surplus-income (*fawazil*) to the centre². It appears from later accounts that the *muqt'ai* was not given a free hand in financial matters. His accounts were regularly audited by the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*³.

(Iltutmish's problem was solved by the distribution of *iqta's* on a large scale. The dangers inherent in this system were eliminated by his careful and vigilant control of the administrative machinery, but during the years of anarchy that followed Iltutmish's death, the entire *iqta'* administration broke down and the *iqta'dars* adopted an attitude of defiance towards the central authority. The institution of *iqta'* which had been adopted in order to accelerate the process of centralization, now tended to disintegrate and decentralize the political authority. Balban could hardly tolerate this state of affairs. It was incompatible with his ideals of government. He instituted an inquiry into the terms and tenure of the *iqta's* given to two thousand

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 61.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 220.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 'Afif, p. 414.

The State, however, held the other view. These *iqta's*, Balban said, were given in lieu of military service. When the grantees discontinued to perform their part of obligations, the contract, on the basis of which they held these *iqta's*, became null and void. The occupants of the *iqta's* argued that these lands were given to their ancestors by way of reward for the military services they had rendered to the state and carried no obligation for the future. The *Iqta'dars* were probably inspired by the Seljuq traditions¹ in claiming hereditary rights over these *iqta's*, but Balban, who looked to Sanjar for guidance in all other matters, refused to be guided by his example in the matter of the grant of *iqta's*. Legally his attitude was correct because the generally accepted principle in this connection was:

Though subsequently Balban made certain concessions in favour of these *iqta'dars* at the intercession of the Kotwal of Delhi³, the principle of hereditary *iqta'* was definitely rejected by him and a *khwaja* was appointed to watch and control the activities of the *iqta'dars*.

1. *Islamic Literature*, October 1951, pp. 33-34.

2. *The Ency. of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 462.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 61-62.

4. Most of the discussions about the distinction between the terms *Iqta'dar*, *Muqta'i* and *Wali*, are speculative in nature because the contemporary evidence is not only meagre but conflicting on these points.

Conflict with the Crown

The Turkish bureaucracy had, no doubt, laid the foundations of the Sultanate of Delhi and had built up its administrative edifice, but it was also responsible for creating conditions which prevented the growth of those political institutions and traditions which, under more favourable circumstances, might have facilitated the evolution of a constitutional monarchy in India. The domestic history of the early Turkish Empire of Delhi centres round the nobles and their activities to control the main strings of administration. Goaded by their inordinate ambition and insatiable lust for power, they constantly urged the crown to surrender more and more of its privileges to them. Some of them, like Balban and Aitikin, did not hesitate in demanding even the insignia of royalty from the Sultans¹. They created the office of the *naib-i-mamlakat* in order to reduce the Emperor to a mere figurehead. As was inevitable under these circumstances, the crown became a plaything in the hands of the nobles who placed kings on the throne and deposed or executed them as they pleased. Barring the eighteenth century, the conflict between the nobility and the crown in India never assumed such threatening proportions as during this period². They used the crown as a bargaining counter for political concessions. Matters reached such a stage that the crown was made conditional on appointment of certain persons to key posts in the administration³. ✓

Triangular Tussle

Broadly speaking the Turkish bureaucracy was divided into three colleges or groups: (a) the provincial governors, (b) the army officers and (c) the household dignitaries. Each one of them wanted to dominate the Sultan and monopolize political power and authority. A Sultan could remain on the throne so long as he prevented a conjunction of any two of these groups and played upon their mutual rivalries. But even in that case whichever group was outmanoeuvred rose into rebellion and disturbed the political atmosphere. These groups combined only when there was a common danger from the non-Turkish elements; otherwise every one pulled in his own direction and a triangular conflict became a permanent feature of Indian political life in the thirteenth century. The

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 26; *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 159; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 253.

2. But there was a world of difference between the character and activities of the nobility during the 13th and the 18th centuries. The conflict in the 18th century was due to the lack of really gifted men to shoulder the burden of the administration. In the 13th century it was the other way round. It was not the dearth of talent but its abundance which led to constant conflict and strifes.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 253.

people of Delhi sometimes influenced the course of political developments and their support or opposition to any sultan decided the issue. Razia came to the throne through the support of the population of Delhi, to the chagrin of the provincial governors. Later, when the household dignitaries, under the leadership of Aitikin, entered into a conspiracy with the provincial governors and sought to remove Razia from the throne, it was probably the public opinion of Delhi which damped the prospects of a palace revolution. Under these circumstances a Sultan had to keep a vigilant watch over the activities of provincial governors, army officers and the household dignitaries. When Balban consolidated his power and raised the prestige of the crown, he placed the frontier provinces under his sons, reduced the power of the dignitaries of the household and by creating the 'king's army' minimized all chances of revolt by the army officers. He did not allow any of his military officers to become too powerful or too influential. When Kashli Khan, his nephew, won the golden opinion of the people through his lavish distribution of wealth, Balban disapproved of his generosity and chided him on that account; but, when his own slave, Malik Amir 'Ali Sar-Jandar, treated the people with the same munificence and won the title of *Hatim-Khan* he encouraged and appreciated him. The generosity of a free born noble could produce serious political consequences, but the munificence of a slave-noble simply strengthened the master's position.

Influence on Contemporary Politics

A brief survey of the main political developments of the period is necessary in order to bring out the nature and extent of the influence of nobility on contemporary politics.

On being asked by a noble about his successor, Shihab-u'd-din remarked: "They (my slaves) will rule my kingdom after I am dead and gone¹." If Shihab-u'd-din had no son, he had nephews and cousins but he preferred his slaves to his kinsmen. It was as much a recognition of talent as a timely warning to the slaves to prepare themselves for the responsibility that was to devolve upon them. It, in fact, determined the character and the activities of the slaves in the years to come. Shihab-u'd-din himself did not leave anything to chance or speculation. He had three outstanding slaves—Taj-u'd-din Yildiz, Nasir-u'd-din Qubacha and Qutb-u'd-din Aibek—and he made their relative status and position clear. He conferred a black standard on Yildiz which signified his desire to make him heir-apparent at

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 131-132.

Ghaznin¹. In order to buttress his position, Shihab-u'd-din commanded him to give his daughters in marriage to Qubacha and Aibek. Subsequently Aibek was made the Sultan's successor in Hindustan².

Shihab-u'd-din was assassinated on Sha'ban 602 A.H./ March 1206.³ It took Aibek more than three months to create conditions favourable for his accession. Probably this time was spent in persuading Sultan Ghiyas-u'd-din Mahmud, nephew of Shihab-u'd-din, to grant him the letter of manumission. But Yildiz, who had established himself in Ghaznin, was not prepared to allow Aibek an independent status. He laid claim to the Indian acquisitions of Shihab-u'd-din and prepared for a conflict with Aibek. Aibek, on his part, stoutly resisted his interference in Indian affairs and thwarted his ambitions in this direction by taking up a bold and unflinching attitude. As a counter-attack he thought of annexing Ghaznin but very soon realized the utter futility of this attempt and concentrated on his Indian possessions. On his sudden death, the Turkish *amirs* and *maliks* at Lahore elevated Aram Shah to the throne⁴. It is difficult to determine Aram's relationship with Aibek⁵. However, the nobles at Delhi invited Iltutmish, then governor of Bada'un, and placed him on the throne. If Aram was Aibek's son, the attitude of the nobles was an unmistakable indication of their unwillingness to accept the principle of hereditary succession.

Iltutmish's rise to the throne was due to the efforts of Sipah Salar 'Ali Isma'il, the *Amir-i-Dad* of Delhi, and the *maliks* of Delhi⁶. The protest came from the Head of the Bodyguards, *Sar-Jandar*, an important officer of the imperial household. He was joined by some other Turks and Mu'izzi *maliks*. For some days Iltutmish refrained from taking any action against them, probably with a view to making a correct estimate of their strength and resources. He then marched against them along with eminent leaders like 'Izz-u'd-din Bakhtiyar, Nasir-u'd-din Mardan Shah, Hizbr-u'd-din Ahmad Sur and Iftikhar-u'd-din Muhammad 'Umar⁷. Most of the

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 133.

'Isami calls him the 'adopted son of the Sultan.'

Futuh-u's-Salatin, p. 99.

2. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 28.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 124.

Aibek ascended the throne on *Ziq'a'd* 17,602/June 24, 1206. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, pp. 30, 32; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 140.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 141.

5. The heading of the Chapter on Aram Shah, in *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, has Aram Shah bin Sultan Qutb-u'd-din (p. 141); but further the text says that Qutb-u'd-din had only three daughters.

6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 170.

7. *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II), p. 237.

leaders of the rebellious army were put to death¹.

This was Iltutmish's first conflict with the nobility, and, though he emerged successful, the nobles were far from being completely won over. In subsequent years they rose into rebellion several times but Iltutmish faced them with tact and determination². His contact with the people and the respect he commanded in the religious circles made his position unassailable. But Iltutmish, on his part, fully recognized the position and status of the *amirs*. He is reported to have remarked that when he saw the nobles standing with folded hands in his presence, he felt like stepping down from the throne and kissing their hands and even their feet³.

Iltutmish's vigilance and political adroitness, however, kept the nobles tightly under his control. His death (April 30, 1236) was a signal for the nobles to start a mad race for political power. During the three decades that intervene between his death and the accession of Balban, the crown of Delhi passed through many vicissitudes. It was tossed to and fro like a shuttlecock and the nobles left no stone unturned in divesting the Sultan of all his authority and prestige. Every important noble sought to place his own protege on the throne and control thereby the entire administrative machinery. With a view to strengthening their position, some of the *maliks* even sought to establish matrimonial relations with the royal family. Balban married a daughter of Iltutmish⁴ and gave one of his daughters in marriage to Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud⁵. Altuniah married Razia. All these matrimonial relations were diplomatic in character⁶ and were inspired by the desire to steal a march over their opponents by establishing closer contacts with the ruling house.

Though Iltutmish had nominated Razia as his successor⁷, the nobles, particularly the provincial officers, raised Rukn-u'd-din Firoz to the throne, in complete disregard of Iltutmish's wishes. During his reign Shah Turkan, his mother, controlled the entire administration and probably relied on the

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 171.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 171.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 137.

4. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi* (MS); *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Vol. I, p. 71.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 293.

6. Matrimonial relations with the ruling house had great value for an aspirant to the throne. When the supporters of Sayyidi Maula planned a *coup* to place Sayyidi Maula on the throne, they arranged his marriage with a daughter of Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 210.

7. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 184.

support of the officers of the household and the Turkish officers of the capital. The provincial governors, like Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Kabir Khan of Multan, Malik Saif-u'd-din Kochi of Hansi and Malik 'Ala-u'd-din of Lahore, conspired together and broke out into rebellion¹. Nizam-u'l-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi also deserted the Sultan and joined the governor of Bada'un². This concerted action of the nobles created a difficult situation for the Sultan. When he marched out to quell these rebellions, his Turkish amirs and other slaves who were serving in the imperial household, killed a large number of *Tazik* (non-Turkish) officers³ at the instigation of Malik Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Yuzbak-i-Tughral Khan and Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Balban-i-Kishlu Khan⁴.

While these troubles were brewing, Turkan Khatun's ill treatment forced Razia to make an appeal to the people to save her from Khatun's evil machinations⁵. The army officers and the citizens of Delhi responded to Razia's pathetic appeal and placed her on the throne. The choice of Iltutmish, no doubt, stood vindicated but the provincial governors felt humiliated for they were not consulted in this matter. They resented it and Razia proceeded to deal with them. She carefully removed all unreliable provincial officers and appointed men of her own choice to the provincial governments. Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Kabir was assigned Lahore; Hindu Khan was entrusted with the administration of Uchch and Malik Aitikin was put in charge of Bada'un. Some of her appointments were severely resented, e.g., when she appointed Malik Tayasai to the governorship of Awadh, the insurgents threw him into prison where he died⁶.

Fed up with the intrigues and contumacious activities of the Turkish bureaucracy, Razia tried to associate the non-Turks with the administration but this landed her into further difficulties. If Razia's career is viewed as a whole, it would appear as one long struggle to create a group of non-Turkish amirs and administrators as a counterpoise against the Turks who had become a source of constant embarrassment to the throne. Realizing the dangerous implications of Razia's policy, the Turkish amirs like Malik 'Ala-u'd-din Jani, Malik Saif-u'd-din Kochi, Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Kabir and

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 183.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 183.

3. They were: Taj-ul-Mulk Mahmud Dabir, Mushrif-i-Mamalik, Baha-ul-Mulk Husain Ash'ari, Karim-u'd-din Zahid, Zia-ul-Mulk son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, Nizam-u'd-din Sharqani, Khwaja Rashid-u'd-din Malkani and Amir Fakhr-u'd-din. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 183.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 183.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 184; *'Aja'ib-u'l-Asfar II*, p. 54. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 132.

6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 186.

Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Muhammad Salari rose against her as a body¹. Razia handled the situation with superb tact and cleverness. She incited their mutual rivalries and thus prevented concerted action of the recalcitrant group. When one group of such eminent nobles as Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Muhammad Salari and Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Kabir joined her, others grew panicky and fled from the field. They were pursued and many of them including Malik Saif-u'd-din Kochi, his brother Fakhr-u'd-din and Malik 'Ala-u'd-din Jani were imprisoned and killed². For the moment the storm seemed to have subsided³ and Razia's position was well-established. But when she elevated Jamal-u'd-din Yaqut, an Abyssinian, to the office of *Amir-i-Akhur*, which had always been held by a distinguished Turkish malik, the Turkish nobility took it as an insult⁴. The nobles of the court formed a rebel-clique under the leadership of the *Amir-i-Hajib*, Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Aitikin. But Razia's prestige with the people made a palace revolution almost impossible. The nidus consequently shifted from Delhi to the provincial towns. The provincial governors started the hostilities and the court nobility followed suit. Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Kabir rose in rebellion at Lahore while Malik Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Altuniah rebelled in Tabarhinda. Razia could have dealt with the provincial governors effectively, but the simultaneous insurrection of the court nobility and the servants of the household rendered her position hopeless. Yaqut was put to death and Razia was taken a prisoner. Surrounded on all sides by enemies, open and secret, and with troubles brewing in almost every direction, marriage with Altuniah seemed to her the only way to retrieve her lost position.

Though Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Muhammad Salari and Malik Qaraqash joined Razia and Altuniah⁵, the conspirators at Delhi lost no time in placing Mu'izz-u'd-din Bahram on the throne. This time the nobles bargained for the crown. Bahram was to appoint Malik Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Aitikin, the organizer of victory against Razia, as the *naib-i-mamlakat* and all power was to be delegated to him through a written proclamation⁶. Aitikin was an ambitious man. He assumed some of the royal prerogatives—kept an elephant and arranged for playing the *naubat* at his gate⁷. To strengthen his position further he married a divorced sister of the Sultan⁸. Had circum-

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 186.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 187.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 187.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 153, See also p. 188.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 190.

6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 253.

7. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 253.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 192.

stances favoured, Aitikin would have turned out to be another Balban. But his ambition was greater than his ability and Bahram soon got sick of him. He commissioned two Turks¹ who stabbed Aitikin to death as soon as he came down from the upper storey of the *Qasr-i-Sufaid* after attending a *tazkir*² meeting arranged by the Sultan on the 8th of Muharram³. Muhazzab-u'd-din, the wazir, was also attacked but he escaped with two wounds and resumed his duties on his recovery.

On Aitikin's murder, Malik Badr-u'd-din Sanqar, the *Amir-i-Hajib*, assumed dictatorial powers and carried on government without consulting the Sultan⁴. He convened a secret meeting of the chiefs and *sadars*, such as Qazi-i-Mamalik Jalal-u'd-din Kashani, Qazi Kabir-u'd-din, Shaikh Muhammad Shami and others at the residence of Syed Taj-u'd-din 'Ali Musavi, the *Mushrif-i-Mamalik*, with a view to deposing the Sultan⁵. This was probably the first time that a very large number of 'ulama were directly associated with such a conspiracy, apparently with a view to mobilizing public opinion against Bahram. Sanqar invited Muhazzab-u'd-din also to this meeting but he was not prepared to be a party to the *coup* and so he disclosed the secret to the Sultan who took prompt action against the conspirators⁶. Sanqar was sent away as governor to Bada'un; Qazi Kabir-u'd-din and Shaikh Muhammad Shami fled away from the capital, while Qazi Jalal-u'd-din Kashani was dismissed from his office. Thus the conspiracy was nipped in the bud and the conspirators were scattered. But dismissals and transfers could hardly mend the ways of the ambitious nobles. The Sultan hesitated to take strong action against them and nothing short of a complete purge of the subversive elements could create peaceful conditions for the royalty.

Just at this time when the whole atmosphere seemed surcharged with guile and treachery, a Mongol army invaded India under Tayir. The nobles, who were dispatched from Delhi to check the Mongol advance, wasted their time in mutual conflicts and recriminations and shirked their duties. Muhazzab-u'd-din wrote to the Sultan: "These Turks and Amirs, a body of traitors, who are with us are not likely to become loyal. The best course for your Majesty is to dispatch an edict empowering us to kill them". The young Sultan did not understand the trick and responded to the Wazir's

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 192.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 192.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 192-193.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 192-193.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 193.

6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 193-194.

request by sending the desired order. The mischievous wazir showed this imperial *firman* to the Turkish Amirs and army leaders who instantly rose against the Sultan¹ and prepared to march back to the capital to put an end to the reign of Bahram. Appeal to religious sentiments alone could pacify the excited Turkish amirs and so Bahram sent Shaikh-ul-Islam Sayyid Qutb-u'd-din to use his religious influence and appease the *amirs*, but the cause of the rebels appeared so strong to him that he himself joined the recalcitrant group. The *amirs* and army officers hurried to the capital and besieged the town. Fighting continued for about three months, from February to May (1242). The failure of the army leaders to occupy the town was due to the stout resistance put up by the citizens of Delhi. Minhaj-us-Siraj, who seems to have supported Bahram at this time, received injuries but was protected by his armed slaves. Ultimately the city fell and the rebels executed Bahram².

Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Balban-i-Kishlu Khan who was one of the leaders of the rebellion occupied the *Daulat Khanah* and proclaimed himself as Sultan³. But the Malik and Amir were not prepared to accept a comrade-in-arms as their ruler. The three surviving princes of the house of Iltutmish—Nasir-u'd-din, Jalal-u'd-din and 'Ala-u'd-din Mas'ud—were taken out from the *Qasr-i-Sufaid* where they had been imprisoned and it was decided to place 'Ala-u'd-din Mas'ud on the throne⁴.

The failure of 'Izz-u'd-din Balban-i-Kishlu Khan to get himself recognized as the Sultan made it clear to the future aspirants of the throne that a mere *coup* was not enough to bring a noble to the throne. Consolidation of power behind the screen of a puppet-king and complete control over the administration should have preceded formal assumption of regal authority. In subsequent years the activities of the Turkish nobles were determined by this experience and 'Izz-u'd-din's impolitic action was never repeated.

'Ala-u'd-din Mas'ud appointed Malik Qutb-u'd-din Hasan Ghuri as *naib-i-mulk*; Muhazzab-u'd-din continued as Wazir, while the office of *Amir-i-Hajib* was entrusted to Malik Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Qaraqash. It is interes-

1. Minhaj says that at the instigation of Khwaja Muhazzab-u'd-din these nobles vowed to depose the Sultan:

بشارت خواجه مهذب بر اخراج و عزل سلطان بیعت کردند

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 196.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 196-197.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 197.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 197.

ting to note that Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Balban-i-Kishlu Khan who had placed himself on the throne soon after the execution of Bahram received the extensive provinces of Nagaur, Mandor, Ajmir, and Bada'un¹. Under more stable conditions, Kishlu Khan would have lost his head rather than receive such large assignments. These concessions, dictated by political circumstances, made the position of the crown extremely precarious.

Khwaja Muhazzab-u'd-din who had been playing a very dangerous and mischievous role during the preceding years, again revived his activities and, not only overshadowed the *naib-i-Mulk*, but established the *naubat* and stationed an elephant at his door². But Muhazzab-u'd-din was fully conscious of the fact that assumption of royal power was not possible unless the Turkish nobility was made ineffective. No sooner did he attempt to deprive the Turkish bureaucracy of its position of power and authority than the *amirs* rose up, under the leadership of Malik Raj-u'd-din Sanqar-i-Kirat Khan and Malik Nusrat Khan Sanqar, and put him to death³.

The reshuffle in the offices of the government necessitated by the murder of Muhazzab-u'd-din, brought Ghiyas-u'd-din Balban to the office of *Amir-i-Hajib*⁴ and a new phase began in the history of the Turkish bureaucracy of Hindustan.

Rise of Balban

Balban was an extremely ambitious and scheming person. He proceeded cautiously to consolidate his position and did not ignore the experience of his predecessors. The circumstances in which 'Ala-u'd-din Mas'ud's deposition was brought about are not known but, as Dr. Habibullah remarks, "it resulted from personal ambitions and was a palace affair and that Balban, in league with Mahmud's mother, had a hand in it⁵."

During the reign of Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud, Balban took into his own hands all the strings of administration. The Sultan, who was an energetic and efficient administrator before his accession, found himself in a very embarrassing position and face to face with a domineering and ambitious malik like Balban, he had no alternative but to seek an escapist's pleasure in his religious devotions and prayers. Barani very correctly remarks:

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 198.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 198.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 199.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 199.

5. *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 120.

“He retained Sultan Nasir-u’d-din as a mere symbol, while he himself ruled.¹”

To strengthen his position further, Balban gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan on August 2, 1249. Two months later, on October 21, he was appointed *Naib-ul-Mulk* and commander of the royal forces with the title of Ulugh Khan-i-Azam². The entire administration thus came under him and he controlled both the household dignitaries and the army.

Sick of this situation, Nasir-u’d-din Mahmud made a last desperate effort to shake off the tutelage of his domineering minister. He dismissed Balban on March 3, 1253 and, in order to reduce further the power of the Turkish nobility he encouraged the non-Turkish group in the administration and appointed ‘Imad-u’d-din Raihan as his *wakil-i-dar*³. Almost all the important offices of the state were redistributed⁴ and the hegemony of the Turkish bureaucracy was sought to be broken. Raihan induced the Sultan to march against Balban and deprive him of his *iqta*’. Balban avoided a conflict by leading an expedition towards Rajputana. The Sultan confiscated the *Iqta*’ of Hansi and conferred it, together with the title of *Amir-i-Hajib*, on Prince Rukn-u’d-din Firoz Shah. Malik ‘Izz-u’d-din Balban-i-Kishlu Khan—that arch-conspirator of the former regimes—was appointed *Naib Amir-i-Hajib*⁵.

The Turkish *amirs* had always looked on Ulugh Khan’s power with fear and jealousy, but when they found the non-Turkish elements gathering momentum, they rallied round him in order to save their racial interests⁶. All those Turkish officers who were posted in the neighbouring provinces joined the recalcitrant group and marched towards Delhi to bring about a change in the personnel of the government. Raihan was prepared for an armed struggle with Ulugh Khan but Nasir-u’d-din Mahmud who was not confident of his position, hesitated. He responded to the compromise proposals which amounted to virtual surrender of royal authority to Ulugh Khan and his clique. Raihan even conspired to kill the two nobles—Bat Khan-i-Aibek and ‘Izz-u’d-din Balban-i-Yuzbaki—who were negotiating compromise, but

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 26.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 294.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 217.

Balban was dismissed on March 3, 1253 and Raihan was appointed in July which means that it took Nasir-u’d-din more than three months to find a substitute for Balban.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 217.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 299.

6. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, p Vol. I, p. 72.

he did not succeed in his attempt. The Sultan dismissed him from office and ordered him to take charge of the government of Bada'un.

A seasoned diplomat and an astute politician as Balban was, he tried to crush the power of the non-Turkish amirs without allowing his Turkish compatriots to grow powerful in this process. He removed [through poison and dagger all those Turkish leaders whom he considered his rivals in the political field. Barani writes:

“Many of those Khans and Shamsi maliks, whom he considered to be his rivals or obstacle to his attaining the throne, but open execution of whom was considered to bring odium to him and reduce people's confidence in him, he secretly poisoned them in wine or in other drinks. Out of excessive love for the throne which is after all ephemeral, it never crossed his mind that for whatever reason or in whatever way he would kill the Mussalmans—by sword or by poison, openly or secretly, by starving to death or by making them die of thirst, by throwing them from heights or by drowning them in water, or by burning them in fire—he would have to answer for this shedding of blood on the Day of Judgement.”¹

It was not very long after his reinstatement that Balban demanded the insignia of royalty from the Sultan. It amounted to divesting Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud even of his titular authority. So far Balban had ruled, while Nasir-u'd-din had merely reigned, but Balban's ambition soared higher. Better qualified than Aitikin and more cautious and calculating than 'Izz-u'd-din Kishlu Khan, he did not rush at the crown. He proceeded cautiously, consolidating his power at every step.

'Isami has supplied interesting details about the manner in which he secured the insignia of royalty from Nasir-u'd-din. He feigned to have fallen ill and on that pretext abstained from attending the court for a few days. The Sultan sent a *hajib* to inquire about his health. He replied that he had fallen ill in his longing for the *chatr* and that he wanted a white *chatr* with a willow wand under it and a gold cup at the top in place of an eagle. The Sultan, whom circumstances had reduced to a non-entity, readily agreed to part with his *chatr* and humbly replied: “I am prepared to send you my own *chatr*; do whatever you like.” The next day Balban appeared in the court with a *chatr* over his head². This spectacle horrified the old nobility. Malik Qutb-u'd-din Hasan³ could not help uttering some sarcastic remarks on this occasion. Balban was bitterly incensed and he made up his mind to get rid of the insolent malik who had the effrontery to laugh at him. He

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 47-48.

2. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 159.

3. 'Isami and Barani call him Hasan (*Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 39); but Minhaj calls him Husain (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 220). For his full titles, see Raverty, p. 673. Habibullah's statement that 'Mas'u-d's *naib-i-mamlakat* does not appear to have survived him' is incorrect in view of this account of 'Isami. There is a casual reference to the incident of Malik Qutb-u'd-din Hasan in the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 66.

brought some assassins to the palace and ordered them to stand on both sides of the entrance with daggers in their hands. As soon as Qutb-u'd-din Hasan stepped into the palace gate, these assassins rushed at him and tore him to pieces. When his dying shrieks reached the ears of the Sultan, he made anxious inquiries but was calmly told by Balban:

یکے خار بود ست به گلزار ملک که هموار بودے زیباں کار ملک
 بگفتیم کہ آن خار را برگزید سرش را بر ایوان شہ بدگزلید¹

(There was a thorn in the garden of the kingdom, and was a cause of injury to the kingdom. I ordered them to tear out this thorn and throw his severed head in the palace of the king.)

Nasir-u'd-din was shocked to hear about the cold-blooded murder of a veteran noble; but, now Balban had full grip over the administration and, it was not possible for him to utter even a single word of grief.

The methods employed by Balban to consolidate his power and enhance his prestige were, no doubt, callous and uncompromising but, when all circumstances are kept in mind, it can hardly be disputed that through these Draconian measures alone the unruly elements could be forced to submit to the authority of the State. It may be said to his credit that he put an end to the conflict which was going on between the nobility and the crown for many decades past. Later he poisoned² Nasir-u'd-din and himself ascended the throne.

Fall of the Turkish Oligarchy

Balban's stern dealings with the Turkish nobles made them accept the superior authority of the crown and clipped their wings. The *Turkan-i-Chahlgani*, who had divided the revenues of the Empire amongst themselves through *iqta's* and *wilayats* and who used to say to one another: "What art thou that I am not, and what wilt thou be that I shall not be", had no alternative but to change their outlook completely³. He resumed most of their assignments and reduced them to a position of economic dependence upon the Sultan. But Balban's attitude towards his Turkish nobles was devoid of vision. In his attempt to safeguard his own dynastic interests, he sapped the roots of Turkish power in India. He sacrificed the interests of his race at the altar of his own ambition. How fatal was this policy in the larger interests of the Turkish governing class in India became evident a few years after Balban's death. When the Khaljis entered the field as competitors for the crown, the old Turkish nobility found itself on its last legs—utterly helpless to resist the anti-Iltutmish forces. Balban had so completely depleted

1. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 159.

2. See Nizami: *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, article on Balban, the Regicide (pp. 48-62).

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 28.

it of its talent that there was not a single man who could rise up to the occasion and rehabilitate himself in the confidence of the people.

Kaiqubad's indulgence in wine and venery excited the latent ambitions of the nobility and it rose up again with all the ruinous violence of a suppressed force. But it had lost the vigour and vitality of the pre-Balban period. Its ambition had remained; its talent had disappeared. Nizam-u'd-din, the son-in-law of Fakhr-u'd-din, was probably the most capable man of the nobles of this period.¹ But goaded by his inordinate ambition, he sought to extirpate the residue of Turkish talent. He sent his wife to reside in the palace in order to control the Sultan's *harem*.² In his anxiety to consolidate his position further, he desperately removed Turkish *Maliks* and officers from all important offices. He got Kai-Khusrau murdered in the district of Rohtak³ and deceitfully summoned all the *maliks* and *amirs* to the capital and killed four important dignitaries of the Empire—Malik Bak Sarii, Malik Ghazi, Malik Karim-u'd-din, and Malik Bahram who respectively held the offices of *Amir-i-Hajib*, *Wakil-i-dar*, *Naib-i-Barbak* and *Amir-i-Akhur*. The *Sar-jandar* and *Mussala-dar* were exiled and fresh appointments were made to all posts, high and low. Nizam-u'd-din's policy made him unpopular with the officers who ultimately poisoned him. Kaiqubad summoned Malik Jalal-u'd-din, governor of Samana and *Sar-jandar*, and appointed him '*Ariz-i-Mamalik*' and assigned the *Iqta'* of Baran to him.⁴ Malik Aitmar Kachchan was made *Barbak* and Malik Aitmar Surkha was given the office of *Wakil-i-dar*. Whether Kaiqubad was himself responsible for this distribution of portfolios or the political situation and the relative strength of the parties had forced it upon him, it can hardly be denied that the rival groups were now placed in such a position that a capable Sultan could effectively exploit the situation to his advantage and use these groups as a counterpoise against each other. But Kaiqubad's indolence and inefficiency led to a serious conflict between the old Turkish nobility and the Khaljis. The Khaljis rallied round Jalal-u'd-din; Aitmar Surkha was chosen by the Turks as their leader.

Kaiqubad's protracted illness made the situation still worse. His paralytic body had not yet ceased breathing that the Ilbarites raised his son,

1. Barani gives him a good certificate and says:

آدمی شایسته همچو او در عصرها و قرنها پیدا نیاید و هزار افسوس که آنچنان
آصف راے و بزر چهرے را غلبه هوائے ملک و شدت طمع تخت به باد داد

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 169.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 134.

3. 'Isami says that on receiving the intelligence of this design, Kai-Khusrau sought an alliance with the Mongol Khaqan. But he did not succeed in it. *Futuh-us-Salat*, pp. 196-197.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 170

Kaimurs, to the throne and prepared a long list of the members of the Khalji group for execution. Jalal's name headed the list of the condemned persons.¹ A relation of Jalal, Ahmad Chap, who was in the service of Malik Kachchan, secretly conveyed the news to him. Jalal took instant action and, by removing his quarters to Ghiyaspur, pooled his resources and prepared himself for the coming conflict. He was joined by many non-Turkish officers who were included in the condemned list. After a brief but excited tussle,² the old Turkish governing class found itself completely ousted from all positions of power and authority. The Khalji governing class had certain initial difficulties in getting itself recognized and winning the loyalties of the people, but very soon their superior talent succeeded in tiding over all difficulties and they established themselves firmly in place of the Ilbarites.

Physical and social gifts of the nobility

✓ The *Qutbi* and the *Shamsi maliks* represented some of the best talent of the times. Their organizing capacity and experience in the art of war not only brought the Sultanate of Delhi into being but strengthened its foundations also. They displayed remarkable administrative talent in dealing with the complex and exacting problems of an Empire which stretched from Multan to Lakhnauti. Whatever might have been their racial prejudices, they evinced keen interest in the welfare of the people and won the golden opinion of their subjects. Barani says about Balban that during his Khanate "every *wilayat* which was assigned to him became, as the result of his efforts, prosperous and populous."³ Khusrau writes about Khan-i-Jahan, the *Iqta-dar* of Awadh:⁴

خان جهان حاتم مغلّس نواز گشت باقطاع اوده سرفراز
در اوده از بخشش او تا دو سال هیچ قم و ناله نبود از مثال

Sher Khan tackled the most difficult problem of the age—the increasing pressure of the Mongols on the north western frontier—with such tact, courage and adroitness that "the Mongols dare not come near the frontiers of India." He was, in the words of Barani, a wall against Gog and Magog. The way in which he made the contumacious frontier tribes—*Jatwan*, *Khokharan*, *Bhattyan*, *Meenyan Mundaharan*—amenable to law and order, established his reputation as an administrator *par excellence*.⁵

✓ Barani says that Kaiqubad could not have retained his hold over the country but for the energy and resourcefulness of his two *maliks*—Nizam-

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 172.

2. Detailed accounts of this tussle may be read in Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* and Yahya Sirhindi's *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*.

The only outstanding *malik* of the Turkish bureaucracy who desperately resisted the establishment of Khalji power was Malik Chajju, the nephew of Sultan Balban. He rose in rebellion even after the accession of Jalal-u'd-din but was defeated.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 45.

4. *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 221.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 65.

u'd-din and Qiwan-u'd-din. Both of them possessed the administrative talent of Asaf and Buzurchemehr.¹

In personal prowess and attainments in the art of war, these nobles had established their reputation far and wide. Men like Malik Kabir Khan Ayaz al-Mu'izzi Hazar Mardah, Muhammad Kishlu Khan, Malik 'Ala-u'd-din Kashli Khan, Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji and others, were endowed with remarkable qualities of head and heart and their fame had crossed the Indian borders. Even Hulagu had recognized the talent of these Turkish *Maliks* and had sent a dagger to Kashli Khan as a token of admiration for his military achievements.² Minhaj writes about Malik Taj-u'd-din Sanjar-i-Kurat Khan that he "would have two horses under saddle, one of which he would ride, the other he would lead after him and thus used to dash on, whilst the horses were galloping he would leap from this horse to that with agility, would return to this first one again so that, during a gallop, he used several times to mount two horses."³ It appears that detailed accounts of some of these *maliks* were prepared by the contemporaries⁴ but these works have not survived.

The nobles drew inspiration in their social life from the imperial court and tried to emulate the Sultan in all their social and cultural activities. In certain respects their assemblies were miniature courts of the Sultan, and their generosity, which often exceeded their means,⁵ sometimes evoked the ruler's criticism⁶. It is said about Malik 'Ala-u'd-din Kashli Khan that sometimes in fits of generosity he gave everything he possessed to the objects of his favour and retained nothing except the clothes that he wore on his body.⁷ Amir Khusrau once told Barani that no mother could give birth to another

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 169.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 114.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 258; Raverty, p. 756.

4. e.g. Barani informs us that volumes were written in praise of Malik Qutb-u'd-din Hasan Ghuri:

دو محامد و متأثر آن ملک یکانه مجلدات پر داخته اند

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 113.

5. Barani informs us that they incurred heavy debts in their vain display of generosity and even mortgaged the income of their *iqtas*. The *Multani* merchants and *Sahus* (money lenders) prospered on account of the huge amount of interest that came to them. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 120.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 113.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 114. Once he gave all the horses of his stables to Khwaja Shams Mu'in for composing a *qasidah* in his praise. This *qasidah* was read before Balban on the eve of *Nauroz* celebrations and one of its verses was:

شاه علاءالدین الفی قتلغ معظم باریک پورکشلیخان معظم روئے زمین

It is surprising that Balban did not object to this sort of panegyric. See also *Wast-ul-Hayat*, pp. 68-69.

Kashli Khan so far as generosity and manly virtues were concerned.¹ Malik Amir 'Ali Sar-jandar never gave less than 100 *tankahs* to a suppliant.² On ceremonial occasions their lavish expenditure exceeded all limits. An ordinary Turk, Aitmar, spent one lac *jitals* on the marriage of his daughter. Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil, who worked as *Imam* in a mosque constructed by him, objected to this lavish expenditure. Aitmar resented this criticism and dismissed him from service.³

The nobles of this period led a very gay and festive life. They drank profusely and indulged in all sorts of Bacchanalian activities. Balban frequently arranged convivial parties during his Khanate and invited Khans, *maliks* and other notables to them. Gambling, drinking⁴ and music formed a regular feature of these gatherings. *Nadims*, *kitab-khwans* (reciters of books) and singers were kept in regular service and were paid handsome salaries. Whatever Balban won in gambling, he distributed amongst his friends and servants.⁵ During the reign of Kaiqubad, the gay life of the nobility degenerated into debauchery and licentiousness. The nobility had, in fact, its full share in creating the atmosphere which has been thus described in all its vividness by Barani⁶:

"Voluptuaries and convivialists, seekers of pleasure, purveyors of wit, and inventors of buffooneries, who had been kept in the background, lurking, unemployed, without a customer for their wares, came into request. Courtesans appeared in the shadow of every wall, and elegant forms sunned themselves on every balcony. Not a street but sent forth a master of melody, or a chanter of odes. In every quarter a singer or a song-writer lifted up his head... So the emperor Mu'iz-u'd-din and the nobles of his realm and empire, and the children of the peers and princes of his time, and the gay, the rich, the sensualists and the epicures who lived under his rule, one and all gave themselves up to gluttony and idleness and pleasure and merriment, and the heart of high and low alike were engaged in wine and love and song and carnival.... The emperor Mu'iz-u'd-din ceased to reside in the city. Leaving the metropolis of the red fort for Kilokhri, there, on the bank of a stream, he built a peerless palace, and laid out a park of surpassing magnificence and with his princes and chiefs and nobles and intimates and servants of the court, went thither... All the princes and chiefs and gentlemen and men of science and officials reared booths near the palace...and from all the quarters of the cities and of the empire, minstrels and rhetors, and beauties, and singers and wits and buffoons and mimics came to court. The palace teemed with life, and licentiousness was the order of the day. The mosques were deserted by their worshippers

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 113.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 118. Amir Khusrau composed a poem, *Asp Namah*, in his praise. He thus extols his generosity in one of his *qasidahs*:

به بحر گفتم مانی بدست خان ز کرم روان بلرزه در آمد که این محل نه مراست
که سخا در و یاقوت مایه کف اوست که عطاخس و خاشاک مایه کف ماست

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 78-79.

4. Balban gave up drinking after his accession. His two sons, however, continued to drink. (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 68, 81).

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 129 *et seq.* I have quoted these passages at some length because they contain the most vivid and by far the most informative account of the life of the nobility during the 13th century. I have followed P. Whalley's translation (JASB, Vol. XL, Pt. I, 1871, pp. 185-216) which, in spite of some errors, is remarkable for the translator's success in retaining the charm and vivacity of the original.

and the taverns were thronged. No one cared to stay in the cloisters, but distilleries became place of note. The price of wine rose tenfold. The people were plunged in pleasure and gaiety and no thought of sadness, or anxiety, or grief, or fear, or dread, or restraint found place in a single breast. The clever, the genial, the wits, and the jesters, one and all, migrated to the town. The minstrels and in courtesans invented new modes of pleasing. The purses of the vintners and distillers were gorged with gold and silver coins. Beauties and swash-bucklers and itinerant panders were overwhelmed with gold and jewels. For the men of title, the men of letters there was nothing left to do but to drink wine, to make the assemblies sparkle with their wit, to vie with each other in repartee, to resign themselves to music and dice and largess, and the zest of the passing hour, anything to prop up life against the insidious sapping of time, and give night and day their fill of pleasure and repose...the fame of his lavish gifts, and his devotion to pleasure, and his dainty, and fastidious voluptuousness bruited through the cities of the provinces and so patent to the world was his beauty-worship and libertinism, that notorious rufflers and gray sinners in the hope of making acceptable offerings to king, had trained beautiful girls—irresistible with their bright glances and radiant wit—to sing and strike the lute, and chant canzonets, and utter pretty railleries, and to play at drafts and chess. And every moon-bright darling, bale of the city and scourge of the world, was disciplined in diverse ways, and, as her budding bosom expanded in the garden of youth, was taught to ride her horse at speed, and play at ball, and cast the javelin, and become adept in every lively and elegant accomplishment. They were instructed in diverse acts of fascination, which would make monks idolaters, and seduce the most devout to intoxication, sirens of Hindustan slave-boys shapely as the cypress, and damsels shining as the moon, skilled in Persian and singing, pranked in gold and trinkets and embroidered dresses and brocade, soul-alluring puppets shooled in all the civilities and courtesies and fashions of the court, peerless smooth-faced boys with their ear-drops of pearl, and damsels robed like brides in their wedding glories; and the masters of minstrelsy and subtle conjurors who had in secret prepared lays in Persian and Hindi, and had embodied the praises of the Sultan in epigram and ballad and madrigal and comic song, and mimics and buffoons who, with a single jest would betray the saddest into a burst of merriment, and make the jovial hold their sides for excess of laughter, all these came from far countries to feed on the bounty of the Sultan."

It would be wrong if this atmosphere of drunken revelry—which, after all, was a temporary phase in the cultural life of the nobility—were to create the impression that the Turks were incorrigible sots and had no interest in serious arts or humanities of the day. In fact, many of them were great patrons of art and letters and were known for their urbanity and culture. Literati, scholars, poets and artists flocked to them in large numbers and basked in the sunshine of their favours. Some of the most distinguished poets of medieval India—e.g. Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan Sijzi—started their literary careers in the service of the nobles. Prince Muhammad's court at Multan was a great rendezvous of scholars and poets. His *nadims* recited in his presence the *Shah Namah* of Firdausi and the poetic works of Sana'i, Khaqani and Nizami. The prince even extended an invitation to Shaikh Sa'di and offered to construct a *khanqah* for him¹.

As in other spheres of social and political activity, a noble always jealously guarded his privilege of patronizing a poet in his service. Bughra Khan was once present at a party of Malik Chajju. Being pleased with some verses of Amir Khusrau, he presented him with a dish of silver *tankahs*.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 66-68.

Chajju was annoyed at the poet's acceptance of the gift and, though Khusrau tried to win back his favour, the Malik did not forgive him and transferred his services to Bughra Khan.

The nobles extended their patronage to the religious classes¹ as much out of conviction as out of expediency. Fakhr-u'd-din, the *Kotwal* of Delhi, had in his service twelve thousand *huffaz* who busied themselves all the time in reciting the *Quran*.² Nizam-u'd-din *Kharitah-dar* constructed a *khanqah* for Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznavi, a distinguished disciple of Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, and paid all its expenses³. 'Imad-u'l-Mulk endowed several villages for charitable purposes⁴. Such endowments considerably enhanced the popularity and prestige of a noble and endeared him to the religious classes.

Some of the nobles of this period were known for their individual fads, fancies and interests. 'Imad-ul-Mulk, the famous *Rawat-i-'Arz* of Balban, frequently invited his staff to his house and gave robes to every one of his subordinates. This would cost him about twenty thousand *tankahs*. The whole department was provided with meals from his kitchen. He was so fond of betel leaves that fifty servants were all the time busy in distributing betel leaves in his *diwan*⁵. Malik u'l-Umara Fakhr-u'd-din, the famous *Kotwal* of Delhi, changed his clothes, bedding etc. every day and these clothes were given as dowries to orphan girls. Whoever brought a copy of the *Quran* to him, he purchased it at a fabulous price⁶. Deploring the pedantic display of generosity and frivolous expenditure by the Turkish governing class, Barani says : "If one *khan* or *malik* heard that another *khan* or *malik* entertained five hundred guests, he was ashamed if he could not arrange for entertainment of one thousand people. If one learnt that another *malik* gives two hundred *tankahs* in charity at the time of riding, he was ashamed if he could not bestow four hundred *tankahs* instead. If any *malik* bestowed fifty horses in an assembly of pleasure and clothed two hundred people, when others heard of it they grew jealous and made arrangements to bestow one hundred horses and to give robes to five hundred people."⁷

1. For Taj-u'd-din Sanjar Kazlak Khan's respectful attitude towards Minhaj, see *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 232. See also *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, (pp. 67, 78) for their relations with mystics. For Prince Muhammad's respectful attitude towards Shaikh 'Usman and Shaikh Qidwa, See *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 67-68.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 117.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 79.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 117. Barani informs us that these *auqaf* functioned till the days of Firoz Tughluq and food was distributed and *Quran* was recited to bless his soul.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 117.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 117.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 119-120.

CHAPTER V

THE 'ULAMA

The 'ulama constituted a very influential section of Muslim society in the middle ages. They were held in high esteem on account of their religious learning¹ and in many traditions of the Prophet they are referred to as his heirs and are sometimes compared to the Prophets of the Israelites². The attitude of medieval Muslim society towards them is very neatly expressed by a contemporary historian in the following words:

"All people know that after the apostles and prophets rank the truthful persons (*siddiqin*), martyrs (*shahidan*) and scholars ('*aliman*). The scholars are included in the category of *siddiqs* and have preference over the martyrs. The Prophet has said: "The 'ulama are the heirs of the prophets." He further says: "On the Day of Resurrection the ink used by the scholars will be weighed with the blood shed by the martyrs and the ink of the scholars will outweigh and turn the scales... The world exists on account of the piety of the learned...The laws of *Shari'at*...are enforced by them...and things illegal and not sanctioned by the *Shari'at* are suppressed by them...The religion of God stands firm due to them...The Prophet has said: 'A single *faqih* is a greater terror for Satan than a thousand pious men'. He has also said: "If there had been no Satan, the sons of Adam would not have suffered; if there had been no pious men, certainly the wicked people would have been destroyed; if there had been no 'ulama, certainly the people would have wandered about like beasts"...The Prophet has said: 'The best kings and the best nobles are those who visit the doors of the 'ulama and the worst 'ulama are those who visit the doors of the kings and the nobles'...The 'ulama are much superior in dignity and status to others...After them rank the kings...."

Indiscreet use of the terms 'clergy' and the 'clerical group' for them has often created the impression that they constituted a recognized hereditary class or an ordained priesthood of the Christian type. This, however, is not correct. As a matter of fact, anybody who had acquired religious knowledge

1. Note particularly the following observations:

- (a) "By acquiring knowledge a man becomes noble." Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 44.
- (b) "Whoever loves knowledge and scholars, his sins are not recorded." A *hadis*, as quoted in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 21.
- (c) "The 'ulama are noblest amongst the common people and the *faqirs* are noblest of all the noble ones." Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar in *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 75-76.

2. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 11. See also, *Al-Bukhari*, Book III: "On 'Ilm"; *Al-Tirmizi*, Book XXXIX: "On 'Ilm".

3. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, pp. 11-12.

upto a generally accepted and prescribed standard¹ could become an 'alim, though his prestige and influence over the people depended on personal piety and devotion to the cause of learning. The people expected a very high standard of morality from the 'ulama and criticized their failings and shortcomings more severely than those of the ordinary people. They believed : "When an illiterate man dies his sins also die with him, but when an 'alim dies his sins outlive him²."

Generally the people expected the 'ulama to be well-versed in 'ilm-i-fara'iz (Muslim law particularly relating to inheritance etc.) for in that way alone they could help the Muslims in organizing their lives according to the laws of Shari'at³. Acquiring knowledge for the sake of earning money was looked down upon. An eminent contemporary mystic used to say: "Knowledge in itself is a noble thing but when it is used for earning money and the scholars go about from door to door, respect for it vanishes⁴." Participation of the 'ulama in political matters was deemed harmful and improper. Ibn-i-Khaldun considered them utterly incompetent to tackle political problems due to their ignorance of the requirements of time⁵.

Referring to the *muftis* and *qazis* who wasted their time and knowledge in hair-splitting theological discussions, Shaikh Farid once remarked: "The object of acquiring knowledge of the religious law is to act upon it and not to harass people⁶."

1. The syllabus of medieval Indian institutions—both government and private—during this period was as follows:

(a) *Tafsir* (Exegesis): (i) *Madarik-u't-Tanzil* of 'Abdullah b. Ahmad Hafiz-u'd-din Nasafi (ob. 701 A.H./1310 A.D.) (ii) *Al-Kashshaf* of Abul Qasim Mahmud b. 'Umar Zama-khshari (ob. 538 A.H./1144 A.D.) (iii) *Anwar u't-Tanzil wa Asrar u't-Ta'wil* of 'Abdullah b. 'Umar Baizawi (ob. 716 A.H./1316 A.D.)

(b) *Hadis* (Traditions of the Prophet): (i) *Mashariq-ul-Anwar* of Razi-u'd-din Hasan Saghani (ob. 650 A.H./1225 A.D.) (ii) *Masabih-ul-Sunnah* of Abu Muhammad al-Husain al Farra Baghawi (ob. 516 A.H./1122 A.D.).

(c) *Fiqh* (Islamic law): (i) *Hidayah* of Burhan-u'd-din Abul Hasan 'Ali Marghinani (ob. 593 A.H./1197 A.D.)

(d) *Usul-i-Fiqh* (Principles of Islamic Law): (i) *Manar-ul-anwar* of Hafiz-u'd-din Abul Barakat Nasafi (ob. 701 A.H./1301 A.D.) (ii) *Usul-i-Bazdawi* of 'Ali b. Muhammad Bazdawi (ob. 482 A.H./1089 A.D.)

(e) *Tasawwuf* (Mysticism): (i) *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi (ob. 632 A.H./1234 A.D.)

(f) *Adab* (Literature): *Maqamat-i-Hariri* of Abu Muhammad al-Qasim al-Hariri (ob. 516 A.H./1122 A.D.)

(g) *Nahw* (Grammar): (i) *Misbah*, (ii) *Kafiyah*, and (iii) *Lubub-u'l-Albab* of Qazi Nasir-u'd-din Baizawi.

(h) *Kalam* (Scholasticism): (i) *Sharh-i-Saha'if* (ii) *Tamhid-i-Abu Shakoor Salimi*.

(i) *Mantiq* (Logic): *Sharh Shamsiya*. See also *Al-Nadwah* (February 1909 Vol. VI, No. I, pp. 7-10), Maulawi 'Abdul Hai's article on Syllabus. There is no evidence of *Fusus-ul-Hikam* being included in the syllabus during the period under review, as the writer of this article has suggested.

2. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 26.

3. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 29.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 182.

5. *Muqaddimah*, Ibn-i-Khaldun, Urdu translation, Vol. III p. 216.

6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 85.

Two categories

Tradition classified *'ulama* into two categories—the *'ulama-i-akharat* and the *'ulama-i-duniya*¹. The basis of this division was the difference of their attitude towards worldly affairs. The *'ulama-i-akharat* led an abstemious life of pious devotion to religious learning and eschewed entanglement in materialistic pursuits and political affairs. They preferred to pass their days in penury rather than consort with kings and amass wealth. The end-all and be-all of their lives was to disseminate knowledge and strive for the moral uplift of society. The *'ulama-i-duniya*, on the other hand, were totally mundane in their outlook. They aspired for wealth and worldly prestige and did not hesitate in compromising their conscience if it served their purpose. They mixed freely with kings and the bureaucracy and gave them moral support in their actions, good or bad². This type of Muslim theologians was generally designated as *'ulama-i-su* and Muslim public opinion did not merely treat them with contemptuous indifference but held them responsible for all the vices and misfortunes of Muslim community³.

The 'Ulama—as starving teachers

After completing his formal education an *'alim* usually devoted himself to teaching work in some mosque⁴ or under the thatched roof of his own mud house. He rejected a life of affluence and plenty and refused to be drawn into the vortex of politics. The following accounts of some of the *'ulama* of the period under review will give an idea of their character, the conditions in which they lived and their selfless devotion to the cause of learning and enlightenment.

*Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan*⁵: The famous compiler of *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar*, Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan, was born and brought up in Bada'un. After completing his education, probably in his home town, he came to Koil

1. See *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani (pp. 154-155), where Bughara Khan quotes Balban about the two types of *'ulama*. The author of *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, however, classified the *'ulama* under three categories: *'ulama-i-rabbani*, *'ulama-i-ukhrawi* and *'ulama-i-dunyawi* (p. 57).

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 154.

3. The author of *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah* says: "There is none worse than *'ulama-i-dunyawi*" (pp. 57-58). Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi has trenchantly criticised the *'ulama-i-su* in his letters and has held them responsible for the degeneration of Muslim society. *Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani*, pp. 46-47.

4. For Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh's praise of a *danishmand* who spent his time in teaching *Quran* to boys in a mosque, see *Khair-u'l-Majlis*, p. 107. See also *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* (p. 89) wherein Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya refers to a *danishmand*, Zia-u'd-din, who used to teach near the *Minarah* (Qutb minar).

5. For biographical references, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 103-104; *Mu'jam-u'l-Udaba*, Yaquti Vol. III, p. 211; *Fawat-u'l-Wafayat*, Ibn Shakir I, p. 133; *Jawahir-u'l-Mudi'ah*, Ibn Abi 'l Wafa I, p. 201.

سمع جميع هذا الكتاب وهو مشارق الأنوار النبوية من صحاح الأخبار
 المتكفية على مصنف الشيخ الإمام العالم الأجل ريس أصحاب القدير
 الكبير المحترم قدوة الأمة وغدة الأئمة الملقب المحترم الله تعالى رضى الله
 عنهما إمام الحرمين بن محمد بن الحسن الصفار رضى الله عنه بقرأة الفقيه
 إمام الجاهلية المنقر حاله من أبي بكر محمد بن أحمد بن محمد بن أبي بكر
 أنشأه الفقهاء بمرحاة الدين ترجمه بن محمد بن أبي جعفر المكناسي وسعد الدين
 سعد بن أحمد بن أحمد بن عبد الله الحذافي الشافعي ومحمد بن أبي الحسن بن محمد بن
 النعماني القزويني ورضي الله عنهما بن يوسف بن محمد بن أبي حنيفة الملقب بن أبي
 الدين بن أبي عبد الله محمد بن محمد بن أبي السني المالكي وشمس الدين بن أبي عبد الله محمد بن
 محمد بن علي الكوفي وعنده الله بن محمد بن أبي بكر الغفاري المالكي عفا الله عنه
 في محال من أجزائه يوم الثلاثاء الثامن عشر من جمادى الأولى سنة ست
 وثلاثين وستمائة قسّم ذلك وثبت في منزل الشيخ المصنف من باب الأجر
 وكتبه عبد الله بن محمد بن أبي بكر الغفاري في هذا اليوم ووصلواته
 على خير وآله وسلامهم

صحيح ذلك وكتب الملقب المحترم إمام الحرمين
 الحسن بن محمد بن الحسن بن أبي جعفر الملقب المحترم الله عليه
 وسلامه إمام العدل والفضل والحجج وجعله علما في الفضائل
 كما أنجزه في الدجى - سامدا ومظليكا

Autograph of Saghani, the most outstanding Indian 'alim of the 13th century

(Aligarh) and accepted the post of *Naib-i-Mushrif*¹. One day the *Mushrif* made some inept remarks which brought a smile on the Maulana's face. The *Mushrif* got incensed and threw his inkpot at him. The Maulana escaped the ink, but the insolent behaviour of the *Mushrif* injured his sense of self-respect. He gave up his job with the remark: "We should not keep the company of the illiterates."²

Later on he became tutor to a son of the *wali* of Koil. His salary was only hundred *tankahs*, but he was content with it³. He could not, however, stick to this job for long and took to itineracy. His profound scholarship and mastery over the Traditions of the Prophet made him a respected and popular figure wherever he went. When he reached Nagaur, eminent scholars, like Qazi Hamid-u'd-din and Qazi Kamal-u'd-din, gathered round him and requested him to give lessons in the Traditions of the Prophet. Maulana Razi-u'd-din taught his *Misbah-u'd-Duja*⁴ to the scholars of Nagaur and issued certificates also. One of the residents requested him to instruct him in mysticism (*'ilm-i-tasawwuf*). The Maulana apologized and said: "I am busy here because the people of Nagaur learn the science of *Hadis* from me these days. At present I have no time to instruct you in mysticism. If you desire to learn it, you may accompany me on my itineraries in non-Muslim lands where there will be no such crowd. I shall then teach this science to you."⁵

From Nagaur the Maulana proceeded to Jalore⁶ and Gujarat. Conditions in those areas were such that a Muslim could not move about freely. The Maulana changed his dress⁷ and roamed about *inognito*. During this journey he instructed the above mentioned person in mysticism. Later on he proceeded to Lahore and from there he made his way to Baghdad. His scholarship attracted the attention of the Caliph and he was soon taken into government service. In 617 A.H./1220 A.D. the Abbasid Caliph,

1. For the status, position and duties of *Mushrif*, see *Dastur-u'l-Albab fi 'Ilm-il-Hisab* of Haji 'Abdul Hamid Muharrir Ghaznavi (*Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, Nos. 3 & 4).

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 103-104.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 104.

4. A collection of the traditions of the Prophet. Its full title was: *Misbah-ul-duja min sihah ahadis al-Mustafa*. No copies of this work are known to exist. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan has referred to this work in his *Ithaf al-nubala* (Cawnpore) p. 243.

5. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), pp. 73-74.

6. Jalore was a small Chauhana principality in Rajputana. Aibek had forced it to submission, but the Rajputs re-established their hold over it (*Epi-graphia Indica* IX, pp. 72-73). Iltutmish re-imposed vassalage on Udaisinha, the ruler of Jalore but he repudiated it later. His successor, Chachigadeva, not only asserted his independence but assumed a conquering role. Maulana Razi-u'd-din visited this place probably at a time when tussle for its occupation was going on between the Chauhanas and the Turks.

7. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS).

al-Nasir (575-622/1180-1225), sent him as an ambassador to the court of Iltutmish. He again came to Delhi in the same capacity a few years later and stayed here till 637 A.H./1239 A.D¹..

*Maulana 'Ala-u'd-din Usuli*²: A resident of Bada'un, Maulana 'Ala-u'd-din Usuli imparted free education to students who gathered round him in large numbers. Though he lived under conditions of appalling poverty, he did not accept anything from anybody. It was very rarely that he accepted any gift and, that too, to the extent of his immediate need and under extremely straitened circumstances. One day the starving scholar was eating the remains of seeds out of which oil had been squeezed that his barber stepped in. He concealed the dregs hurriedly in his turban. A few minutes later, when the Maulana took off his turban to get his head shaved, the dregs fell on the ground. The barber was deeply touched by his poverty. He narrated the incident before some of the well-to-do persons of Bada'un and induced them to help him. A native of Bada'un sent some *ghee* and a tray full of dainties to the Maulana who not only sternly refused to accept the gift, but summoned the barber and severely reprimanded him for disclosing his secret to the people³.

Only one instance will suffice to give some idea of the type of pupils that learnt at his feet. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya—then 15 or 16 years of age, living in a small house with his widowed mother and sister, all of whom had to starve very often—came to the Maulana and began to take lessons in Muslim law. When the Maulana taught him *Hidayah*, he compared and collated his manuscript with that of his pupil. Alternately the teacher and the pupil read out and corrected the text⁴. When he had finished his lessons in Muslim law, the Maulana asked him to put on a *dastar*⁵ on his head—which meant that the Maulana considered him to have completed his education. Medieval convocations, if one can use the term, were simple but solemn affairs. A *dastar* was tied round the graduate's head by some leading 'alim before a gathering of scholars and divines and the recipient of the *dastar* was declared to have acquired the requisite amount of knowledge and read the prescribed number of books. Sometimes a certificate was also given in which the teacher mentioned the books he had taught. When Maulana 'Ala-u'ddin Usuli told his pupil to arrange for his *dastar*

1. *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, p. 250.

2. For brief notices, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 165-66; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 190-191; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 77.

3. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 180.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 165.

5. The sash or muslin cloth wrapt round the turban.

ceremony he was worried rather than pleased. He knew the limited means of his mother and the indigent atmosphere of his household. Worried and perplexed he went to his mother who assuaged him by promising to make the necessary arrangements. She spun and wove a sheet of cloth for his *dastar*. A small feast to which the teacher, Maulana 'Ala-u'd-din, had also contributed something, was arranged. The feast being over, the Maulana stood up and tied the *dastar* round Nizam-u'd-din's head. The young scholar, who was to distinguish himself in the academic circles of Delhi, humbly fell at the feet of his master and expressed his gratitude. 'Ali Maula, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi, was also present there. Moved by this sight, he predicted in Hindivi :

اے مولانا ! یہ بڑا ہوسی¹

(O Maulana ! He will be a great man)

*Maulana Kamal-u'd-din Zahid*²: One of the most erudite scholars of his day, Maulana Kamal-u'd-din Zahid, was known in Delhi for his piety and intimate knowledge of the Traditions of the Prophet. He gave lessons in *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar* to his pupils. Balban called him to his court and requested him to serve as his *Imam* (leader of the congregational prayers). "Our prayer is all that is left to us", replied the Maulana regardless of the man he was talking to, "Does the Sultan want to take that also from us?" Balban was dumbfounded and he allowed the Maulana to go home³.

Maulana Zahid devoted his whole time to instructions in *Hadis*. Amir Khurd has preserved for us the contents of a certificate which he gave to his pupil, Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. It ran :

"...Be it known after the praise of God and His Prophet that God provided an opportunity to the great Shaikh and the Imam of the world, Nizam-u'd-din Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Ali, who is endowed with great erudition and profound learning and is the beloved of divines,...to study the entire text of *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar*—which contains a gist of the *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*—with the writer of these lines ...He studied it as critically and with such diligence, effort and perseverance as the book deserves to be read. The writer of these lines has studied this book with two great scholars: the author of *Sharh Asar al-Nayyyarain fi Akhbar al-Sahihain* and Mahmud b. Abul Hasan As'ad al-Balkhi...I have received both oral and written permission from these scholars (to teach this book). Both these scholars had studied this book with its author. I have permitted Sultan-u'l-Mashaikh to narrate the traditions of the Prophet on my authority as is laid down in the *'Ilm-i-Hadis*... I request Sultan-ul-Mashaikh not to forget me and my descendants in his prayers...He studied this book in a mosque of Delhi known after the name of Najm-u'd-din Abu Bakr al-Talwasi...May God protect this city from all calamities and misfortunes.... These words are in the handwriting of Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Marikali, known as Kamal Zahid and were written on Rabi' al-Awwal 21, 679 A.H."⁴

*Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Nasaft*⁵: He was an eminent scholar of Delhi. Whenever a student sought his permission to attend his lectures, he asked

1. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 190-191.

2. For brief notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 101; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 71.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 106.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 104-105; see Appendix for the complete text.

5. For brief references see, *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 158; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 76-77.

him to make three solemn promises: first, that he would take his meals only once a day; secondly, that he would not miss a single lecture; thirdly, that he would accost him barely with the words *As-Salam alakum* and would not kiss his hands or touch his feet¹.

Khwaja Shams-u'l-Mulk: He was another notable scholar of Delhi and had served for sometime as *Mustaufi*². Later he gave up his job and dedicated himself to teaching work. He used to teach his pupils from a balcony. Only three of his favourite pupils—Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, Qazi Fakhr-u'd-din Naqila and Maulana Burhan-u'd-din—were permitted to sit by him in the balcony. Whenever any pupil absented himself or came late, the Khwaja would politely ask him: "What wrong have I done to you that you do not come regularly?"³

The 'Ulama—as pious preachers and scholars

There were scholars who devoted themselves exclusively either to the peaceful pursuit of knowledge or to preaching. Very often they had to work under extremely indigent circumstances⁴. They disliked dabbling in politics or visiting the courts of kings and the nobles. Their piety and scholarship, however, attracted the rulers to their doors⁵. Notwithstanding his emphasis on the dignified parts of kingship, Balban himself visited the houses of pious theologians and preachers and did not hesitate in shedding tears in public meetings addressed by eloquent *muzakkirs*⁶. His respectful attitude towards Maulana Sharaf-u'd-din Walwaji, Maulana Siraj-u'd-din Sanjari and Maulana Najm-u'd-din Damishqi has been particularly noted by Barani⁷. Among the scholars of this period, Barani has referred to two other persons who busied themselves in teaching work—Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Malkh and

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 158.

2. On his appointment as *Mustaufi*, Khwaja Taj Reza wrote:

صدر اکنون به کام دل دوستان شدی مستوفی ممالک هندوستان شدی
Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad, p. 68.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 67-68.

4. Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil wanted to get a copy of *Jami'-u'l-Hikayat* transcribed for himself but his means were so limited that if he had money to purchase paper, he had nothing to pay the copyist's charges. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 28.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 46-107. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once said about Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Mahmud b. Abil Khair al-Balkhi, a contemporary scholar of Balban, that the author of *Hidayah* had predicted about him that his academic eminence would attract kings to his door. (*Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 239; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 45-46). This prediction turned true when Balban began to visit his house regularly after Friday prayers. (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* p. 46).

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 46-47.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

These scholars were distinguished in their special spheres of learning and were held in high respect in the academic circles of Delhi. Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Damishqi was a pupil of the distinguished Muslim scholar and philosopher, Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Razi. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 111. See also, *Firishtah*, I, p. 76.

Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Bazaz¹. No details are available about their life and activities.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once referred to the following three *danishmands*² of this period who had saintly attributes: (a) Maulana Shihab-u'd-din of Meerut, (b) Maulana Ahmad and (c) Maulana Kaithali. Stories about their moral virtues and humanitarian qualities were frequently narrated by the Shaikh before his audience³. These *danishmands* belonged to that category of scholars who spent their time in academic pursuits and did not hanker after worldly prestige or glory.

Maulana Nur Turk⁴, Maulana Nizam-u'd-din Abul Muwayyid⁵ and Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Khatib⁶ were some of those distinguished preachers of the thirteenth century who carried on their work with single-minded devotion and unspoilt by wealth and power. Maulana Nur Turk, whose eloquent sermons elicited praise from a scholar and saint of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar's eminence, hated his contemporary theologians on account of their materialistic pursuits and criticised them publicly in his lectures. He himself led an extremely austere life; his only means of livelihood being a *dang* per day which his freed slave gave to him. Sultan Razia once sent some gold to him. He beat it with his stick and asked the royal messenger to remove it from his sight⁷.

Maulana Nizam-u'd-din Abul Muwayyid was another very gifted speaker of medieval India. Before delivering a sermon he always offered two genuflections of prayer with such thrilling spiritual composure that even Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya who had attended one of his sermons in his boyhood, felt constrained to remark: "I did not see anybody offering prayers in the manner he did."⁸ He then ascended the pulpit and asked Qasim, his *muqqarri* (reciter of the *Quran*), to recite some passages from the Holy Book. After Qasim's recitation in extremely pleasant intonation, the Maulana addressed the audience. His sermons, which sometimes

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*. p. 111.

2. The word *danishmand* is used for externalist scholars (*'ulama-i-zahir*) in medieval Indian literature.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 65-67.

4. For brief notice, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 189-190. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 199; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 74.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 192; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 74-75.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 44.

7. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 198-199; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 74.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 192.

comprised of a few couplets only, very often moved the audience to loud wailing and tears. One day he recited the following couplet:

نه از عشق تو ز تو حذر خواهم کرد
جان در هم تو زیر و زبر خواهم کرد

and the gathering burst into tears. Once, when Delhi was suffering from scarcity of rains, the Maulana stood up on his pulpit and, with his eyes fixed on the sky, said: "Oh God! If Thou does't send rains, I shall not live in any human habitation", and stepped down¹.

It was a popular belief in those days that a preacher's power to move the heart of the people depended on his personal piety, adherence to the laws of *shari'at* and punctuality in the performance of religious duties. Once the people of Lahore discovered to their great astonishment that a *khatib* who had gone on Hajj pilgrimage had lost the charm of his sermons on his return. It was later on found that he had missed his prayers during the journey².

The 'Ulama—as government servants

"The great ambition of '*ulama*,'" Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi once told the Qazi of Bada'un, "is to become a *mutawalli* or a teacher somewhere. If they aspire for something higher, it is *qaziship* of some town. Their highest ambition is the office of *Sadr-i-Jahan*. Beyond that they dare not aspire for anything"³. Ordinarily a *danishmand* alone could be appointed to the following posts:

1. Sadr-i-Jahan (or Sadr-us-Sudur) and his department
2. Shaikh-u'l-Islam
3. Qazi
4. Mufti
5. Muhtashib
6. Imam
7. Khatib

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 192.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 214. See also pp. 75-76 where a blind man refuses to listen to the sermon of a sinful person. Cf also Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's remark:

سنگین کسی که معاملہ نیک ندرد، ذوق ندهد

3. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 212; *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 237.

8. Teacher in schools maintained by the state.

The *Qazi-i-Mamalik* was the highest judicial authority after the Sultan and was responsible for the working of the judicial institutions. It was usually on his recommendation that the Sultan appointed *qazis* to different provinces and localities.¹ Usually the offices of *Sadr-i-Jahan* and the *Qazi-i-Mamalik* were given to the same person.² Sometimes even the offices of *qaza*, *khitabat*, *imamat* and *hisbah* were assigned to one and the same person³.

Though the offices entrusted to the 'ulama were not hereditary, some tradition seems to have developed due to which certain families came to be known as families of *qazis*, *muftis* and *khatibs*. At least on one occasion during this period, some offices were given to the sons of the deceased persons. Minhaj informs us: "In the 14th regnal year (of Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud), the *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*, the *Qazi*, the *Qarabak*, *Amir-i-Hajib* and the *Imam* died and all the offices were conferred upon their sons."⁴

a. The *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*.

The *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*⁵ was in charge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire. All those saints and *faqirs* who enjoyed state patronage were looked after by him. It appears from contemporary records that *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* was both an office and an honorific title.⁶ Some eminent saints were given this title though they had no specific duties or functions to perform⁷. Sometimes the title was loosely used for distinguished saints even though it was not conferred by the Sultan⁸. Amongst those who exercised the functions of this office and formed part of the state machinery, the following names have reached us :

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

2. Minhaj held these two offices on three occasions. He was, however, known as *Sadar-i-Jahan*. (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 219). See also, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 126

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

4. Raverty, p. 713.

5. For details about the nature of the office and its functions, see J. H. Kramer's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, pp. 275-279. See also, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 179-180.

6. For condemnation of those who aspire for this office and pray for it, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 24.

7. e.g. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya was given the title of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* by Iltutmish (*Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 169). This title became so popular that even contemporary mystics addressed him as *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*. One day Shaikh Farid Ganji-Shakar thought of writing a letter to Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya. For a while he could not decide the form of address. He raised his head and looked at the sky and decided to address him as *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 82.

8. The title is used in its non-technical and general sense by Zia-u'd-din Barani for Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 343) and by Amir Hasan Sijzi for Shaikh Farid (*Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 5 etc.)

1. Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi
2. Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Bistami
3. Maulana Najm-u'd-din Sughra
4. Sayyid Qutb-u'd-din
5. Shaikh Rafi'-u'd-din.

Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi was an eminent *khalifah* of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi and was held in high esteem by the people of Delhi who respectfully addressed him as *Mir-i-Delhi*¹. Iltutmish appointed him as his *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*. In that capacity he frequently visited the court and delivered sermons in the royal presence. Barani has preserved the substance of his two very important sermons which reveal him as a bold but narrow minded theologian, who exhorted the Sultan to institute an Inquisition in India. Addressing the Sultan, he said:

"Whatever the kings do and deem essentials of kingship—the way in which they eat, drink wine and dress themselves, the manner in which they sit, get up, and go out riding, the way in which they sit on their throne and compel the people to sit and perform the prostration (*sijdah*) before them, and follow with their heart and soul the customs of the *Kisras*, who were rebels against God, and the superior attitude which they take in all their dealings with the people of God—all this is opposed to (the teachings of) the Prophet; and amounts to claiming partnership in the Attributes of God. This would be a cause of their damnation in the next world.

"Owing to the commission of these acts, which are against the will of God and the traditions of Mustafa, the salvation of the king is not possible except by the implementation of the following four policies for the protection of the Faith:

"First, the kings should protect the religion of Islam with correct faith and with the intention of strengthening it. They should utilise the power, dignity and prestige of their kingship which are opposed to the real attitude of a creature's submission to God, in establishing the supremacy of *Kalama-i-Haqq*², in elevating the customs of Islam, in promulgating the commands of the *Shari'at* and in enforcing what is ordained and in prohibiting what is forbidden. Kings will not be able to discharge their duty of protecting the Faith unless they overthrow and uproot *Kufr* and *Kafiri* (infidelity), *shirk* (setting partners to God) and the worship of idols, all for the sake of God and inspired by a sense of honour for protecting the *din* of the Prophet of God. But if total extirpation of idolatry is not possible owing to the firm roots of *kufr* and the large number of *kafirs* and *mushriks*, the kings should at least strive to disgrace, dishonour and defame the *mushrik* and idol-worshipping Hindus, who are the worst enemies of God and His Prophet. The sign of the kings being protectors of religion is this: when they see a Hindu, their faces turn red (due to anger) and they wish to swallow him alive; they also desire to crush root and branch the Brahmans, who are the leaders of *Kufr* and due to whom *kufr* and *shirk* spread and the commandments of *kufr* are enforced. To maintain the honour of Islam and the prestige of the true Faith, they do not tolerate to see a single *kafir* or *mushrik* to live with self-respect or to attain to honour and live with an attitude of indifference (towards the Mussalmans) among the Mussalmans, or to pass his time in luxuries, enjoyments and pleasures, or to become the ruler of a people (*qaum*), group (*garoh*), territory (*wilayat*) or province (*iqta'*). Owing to the fear and terror of the kings of Islam, not a single enemy of God and the Prophet, should be able to drink water that is sweet or stretch his legs on his bed and go to sleep in peace.

1. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 28.

2. Literally the True Word; here it means the Muslim faith.

"The second policy necessary for the salvation of Muslim kings is this. The open display of sins and shameless deeds and the publication of forbidden things should be suppressed among the Muslim people, and in the cities, habitations and towns of Islam, through the terror and power of kingship. Sinful and shameless deeds should be made more bitter than poison in the throats of the sinners by inflicting excessive punishments on them. Persons who in spite of their claim to be Mussalmans indulge cleverly and shrewdly in shameful works, and practice them all their lives, should be brought to such a tight corner and reduced to such distress that the world appears to them narrower than the circle of a finger ring and they are compelled to leave their sinful activities and find other means of livelihood. If prostitutes, who work for hire (*mustajira*), are not prepared to give up their sinful ways, they should practise their profession secretly and not openly and proudly. But if prostitutes practise their profession in their own disgraceful closets, and do not come out into the public, the practice of their profession should not be prohibited; for if the prostitutes are not there, many wicked people overpowered by their sex-desire will jeopardize the privacy and sanctity of family life.

"The third principle for the protection of the Faith in which lies the salvation of kings is this. The duty of enforcing the rules of the *shari'at* of Muhammad should be assigned to pious, God-fearing and religious men; dishonest and godless people, who have no regard for the rights of others, as well as cheats, swindlers, worldly people and self-seekers—should not be allowed to sit on the *masnad* of the *shari'at* for enforcing the laws of *shari'at*, of giving leadership in matters appertaining to the *tariqat* (higher matters of religious discipline) or performing the duty of issuing *fatawa* in legal matters or the teaching of religious sciences. Philosophers and believers in rationalistic philosophy should not be allowed to live in his territories and under no circumstances the teaching of philosophical sciences should be permitted. The kings should strive to insult and disgrace heretics and believers in bad dogmas and the opponents of the Sunni creed, and none of them should be given any office in the government.

"The fourth principle which is necessary for the protection of the true creed and the salvation of the kings and enhancement in their status is the dispensation of justice. The kings will not have performed their duty in this respect unless they strive to their utmost in the enforcement of justice and are just in every matter, and, owing to the terror of the authority of the kings, oppression and cruelty are eliminated from their territories and all oppressors are overthrown...

"Whenever the kings implement these four policies with firm determination and sincere faith and establish truth at the centre through the terror and prestige of their royal authority, then even if their souls are polluted by sinful desire and in the essentials of kingship they have ignored the *Sunnah*, their status will be among the religious people and owing to their protection of the Faith, their place on the Day of Resurrection will be among the prophets and saints. On the other hand, if a king recites a thousand genuflections of prayer every day, fasts all his life, does not go near things forbidden by *shari'at* and spends the whole of his treasure in charity, but neither protects the Faith by using his royal power and authority for overthrowing and extirpating the enemies of God and the Prophet, nor enforces things ordained by the *shari'at* nor prohibits things forbidden in his realms, nor tries to enforce justice to the greatest extent, his place will be nowhere except in Hell."¹

It is difficult to decide whether the whole of this speech was made by Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak or Barani has expressed his own sentiments by putting them in the mouth of the great Suhrawardi saint. The diatribe against the teaching and learning of philosophy seems to be an interpolation of Barani, because it was a problem highlighted in the Tughluq period and

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 41-44. No contemporary, or even later, writer has referred to this speech. Whatever its authenticity, such views (particularly with reference to the non-Muslims) did not find acceptance with the Muslim society in general and did not condition the political thought or actions of the Sultans.

did not disturb the minds of the conservative theologians during the Ilbarite regime. In his *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, Barani has expounded all these principles as his own¹. Did he borrow his political thought from Sayyid Nur-u'd-din or has he attributed his own views to him? A definite answer cannot be given due to want of requisite data regarding the life and activities of Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak. One incident about the saint, as recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi on the authority of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, is however, significant and shows that, notwithstanding his boldness and independence of spirit, he could not raise himself above the petty squabbles of the court. Once he quarrelled with Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Abul Muwayyid about the order of precedence in the court of Iltutmish². It may, however, be added that his religious reputation was so high that after his death Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Abul Muwayyid went to his grave and apologized for his earlier insolence in quarrelling with him³.

Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Bistami, whom Iltutmish assigned the office of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* when Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki declined to accept it, was a man of genuine piety and had a very high reputation in the religious circles of Delhi. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once remarked about him: "He knew well the customs and etiquette of the mystics."⁴ Men like him raised the dignity of the office of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* and rendered real service to the people. But all the *Shaikh-u'l-Islams* of this period were not of the same calibre. It appears that some ambitious and mischievous persons had also succeeded in securing appointment to this post.

Najm-u'd-din Sughra, whom Iltutmish entrusted the office of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*, was a vainglorious and unscrupulous person. If he ever found any saint or scholar coming closer to the Sultan or attracting the public eye, he resorted to mean and ignoble methods for pulling him down. He had the effrontery to cook up an obnoxious charge of adultery against Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi, simply with a view to disgrace him in the eyes of the Sultan. His arrogant and bureaucratic attitude brought forth condemnation from the great Chishti saint, Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din of Ajmer⁵. He was also jealous

1. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, ff 9a, 9b, 121a etc.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 193.

Siyar-u'l-'Arifin, p. 28.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 193.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 9.

5. Najm-u'd-din Sughra was an old acquaintance of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din. When the latter visited Delhi, he went to see Sughra at his residence. Sughra was then busy supervising the construction of a platform in his house. He did not receive the Shaikh with the cordiality he expected. When the Shaikh found him so indifferent and cold, he remarked: "It appears that the office of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* has turned your head." For details, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 54.

of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki and was anxious to drive him out of the capital¹.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya simply hints at Sughra's conflicts with Shaikh Tabrizi. He refrains from giving details of that scandalous episode². Jamali has, however, given full details of the incident. When Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi reached the suburbs of Delhi, Iltutmish went out to receive him. As soon as the Shaikh came in view, he got down from his horse and ran towards him. He brought the Shaikh to his palace with great respect and asked Najm-u'd-din Sughra to make arrangements for his stay near the palace so that he might see him off and on. This made Najm-u'd-din Sughra jealous of Shaikh Tabrizi. He made arrangements for his stay in a house which was thought to be frequented by evil spirits. When the Sultan objected to this arrangement, Sughra replied that if the guest was spiritually gifted, evil spirits would do no harm to him; if he was 'imperfect' and vain, the annoyance of the evil spirits was his well deserved punishment. Much to the surprise and distress of Sughra, the Shaikh lived in the *Bait-u'l-Jinn* unmolested by anybody. Iltutmish's faith in him increased all the more. This was unbearable for Sughra and he entered into a dirty conspiracy with Gauhar, a nautch-girl of Delhi. He promised to give her five hundred gold coins if, on being summoned to some public gathering, she charged Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi of having committed adultery with her. Sughra even advanced half the promised amount and deposited the other half with Ahmad Sharaf, a *baqqal* of Delhi. She was presented before Iltutmish who convened a *mahzar* to make legal investigations into the matter. Eminent saints and scholars assembled in the Friday mosque. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya's name was suggested by Sughra for presiding over the *mahzar*. There had been some ill-feeling between Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi and Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya and so Sughra was under the impression that the Shaikh's presence would strengthen his position. But he was sadly mistaken in his calculations. When Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi entered the mosque, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din rushed to the door, took his shoes in his hands and respectfully conducted him to the gathering. Gauhar was summoned. She was so overawed by the presence of the Sultan and the saints and scholars that she could not play her game well. She divulged the secret and told all that Sughra had promised to her. Ahmad Sharf was also summoned. He

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p.p 54-55.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 143-144.

confirmed Gauhar's statement. Sughra was dismissed from his post then and there¹. Though Sughra's episode was a solitary incident of its kind, it considerably damaged the reputation of the religious dignitaries of the Empire.

Sayyid Qutb-u'd-din who was *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* during the reign of Bahram Shah, though not of the same type, was definitely of an unreliable character. He betrayed the Sultan at a very critical moment² and did not give any evidence of that strength of character which could justly be expected from an officer of his religious dignity.

An incident recorded in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* shows that some of the dependents of the *Shaikh-u'l-Islams* of this period were looked down upon for their avarice and undignified behaviour. Kabir, grandson of some *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* of this period, was a frequent visitor to the house of Malik Nizam-u'd-din, the Kotwal of Delhi. The Kotwal got fed up of his company and warned him against visiting his house. Regardless of this admonition, Kabir continued to visit his house and behaved in an utterly disgraceful manner³.

b. The Qazis

"It was considered so necessary to have a *qazi* in every town of any dimensions," writes Dr. I. H. Qureshi "that the first administrative business always included his appointment⁴." The *qazis* were mainly concerned with common law or civil litigation, while the *droit administratif* was exclusively under the control of the *Diwan-i-Mazalim* and *Diwan-i-Siyasat*—departments which were neither assigned to the *'ulama* nor run according to the laws of the *Shari'at*. Medieval treatises on Muslim law and administration assign extensive powers to the *qazis*, but, during the early Sultanate period in India, the main function of a *qazi* was to settle civil disputes. In this respect, the attitude of a section of Muslim society towards him is very neatly expressed in a remark quoted in *Sarur-us-Sudur*: "The *qazi* is for the evil-doers; what has he got to do with good people⁵."

It was probably for this reason that when Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya requested Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil to pray for his appointment to the post of *qazi*, he replied: "Do'nt be *qazi*; be something else⁶."

1. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 167-169.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 196.

Nizam-u'd-din Ahmad (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p.70) and Ferishtah (Vol. I, p. 70) have wrongly added the words *Bakhtiyar Ushi* with the name of Shaikh ul-Islam Sayyid Qutb-u'd-din, thus giving the impression that the famous saint of Delhi was involved in this affair. Some modern writers have also been misled by this statement of Ferishtah. Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki had died during the reign of Iltutmish.

3. *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad* p. 125.

4. *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 152.

5. *Sarur-us-Sudur* (MS), p. 29.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 28.

The following names of some of the *qazis* of the period are found in medieval records, political and non-political :

1. Qazi Sa'd-u'd-din Karori¹
2. Qazi Shu'aib of Kahtwal²
3. Qazi 'Abdullah of Ajodhan³
4. Qazi Nasir-u'd-din Kasa Lais⁴
5. Qazi Jalal-u'd-din⁵
6. Qazi Kabir-u'd-din Qazi-i-Lashkar⁶
7. Qazi Sharaf-u'd-din of Multan⁷
8. Qazi Kamal-u'd-din Jafri⁸
9. Qazi Jamal Multani⁹
10. Qazi Qutb-u'd-din Kashani¹⁰
11. Qazi Nasir Kashani¹¹
12. Qazi Shams-u'd-din of Bahraich¹²
13. Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj¹³
14. Qazi Fakhr-u'd-din Naqila¹⁴
15. Qazi Sa'd¹⁵
16. Qazi 'Imad-u'd-din¹⁶
17. Qazi Rafi'-u'd-din Gazruni¹⁷
18. Qazi Shams-u'd-din Maraji¹⁸
19. Qazi Rukn-u'd-din of Samana¹⁹
20. Qazi Sadid-u'd-din²⁰
21. Qazi Zahir-u'd-din²¹
22. Qazi Jalal-u'd-din Kashani²²

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 177.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 84.

4-6. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 177, 195.

7. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 113.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 225, 236 ; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 211.

9. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 208-209.

10. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 235.

11. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 194.

12-13. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 217-223.

14. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 242; *Sarur-us-Sudur*(MS)

15-16. *Futuh-us-Salat*, pp. 117-118.

17-22. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 111.

23. Qazi 'Imad-u'd-din Muhammad Shaqurqani¹
24. Qazi Muhammad Shami²
25. Qazi Shams-u'd-din Mehr³.

Some of them were posted at the capital, others belonged to provincial cities and *qasbahs*. It is unfortunate that no detailed accounts of their activities are available; but the brief references and anecdotes about a few of them found in contemporary literature help us in understanding their character and the nature of their activities. It must be admitted that some of the *qazis* of the centre were essentially politicians in their outlook and they could not raise themselves above that mad race for political power which had become a feature of this age. Balban's observations about his *qazis*, as quoted in a mystic work, are very significant and reveal the character of some of the *qazis* of the capital. "I have three *qazis*," Balban is reported to have remarked, "one of them does not fear me but fears God; the other one does not fear God but fears me; the third one neither fears me nor God... Fakhr Naqila⁴ fears me but does not fear God; the *Qazi-i-Lashkar* fears God but does not fear me. Minhaj neither fears me nor God⁵." It may be added that the *Qazi-i-Lashkar* who feared God, but not the Sultan, was respected most by Balban and his recommendations were always honoured by him⁶. Of another *qazi* of his period, Jalal-u'd-din Kashani, Barani makes the following remarks: "He was a very venerable *qazi* but he was a mischief monger⁷."

Qazi Shu'aib: A native of Kabul, Qazi Shu'aib, left his homeland under the stress of Ghuzz invasions and settled at Qasur. The *qazi* of Qasur received him cordially and informed the Sultan about the circumstances under which the members of this distinguished family had reached Qasur. Though Qazi Shu'aib was reluctant to accept any office, the Sultan appointed him *qazi* of Kahtwal⁸, a town in the district of Multan between Maharan and Ajodhan. When Qazi Shu'aib died, his son Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Sulaiman was appointed *qazi* of Kahtwal⁹. The family, it appears, became

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 198.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 193.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 195.

4. His name has been mentioned by Barani also (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 24). Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once told his audience that Qazi Fakhr-u'd-din Naqila got qaziship due to the blessings of a butcher of Delhi who possessed saintly powers. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 242.

5. *Sarur-us-Sudur* (MS), pp. 47-48.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 47, see also *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad* p. 232.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 210.

8. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59.

9. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 32.

known as 'the Qazi family'. Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, son of Jamal-u'd-din Sulaiman, was known in his boyhood as '*qazi bachchah diwana*'¹, on account of his absorption in mystic contemplation.

Qazi 'Abdullah: He was the *qazi* of Ajodhan and had, in that capacity, appointed a *khatib* for the Friday Mosque of Ajodhan. One day this *khatib* made a mistake while leading the Friday prayers. One of the disciples of Shaikh Farid pointed out the mistake and all the people present there re-offered their prayers. Qazi 'Abdullah took it as a personal insult and abused the Shaikh and his disciples on that account. The Shaikh quietly left the mosque and returned to his house with his followers.²

Qazi Sharaf-u'd-din: He was the *qazi* of Multan during the reign of Qubachah. He joined with Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya in writing a letter to Iltutmish, probably inviting him to attack Multan. Qubachah intercepted this letter and executed the *qazi*.³

Qazi Kamal-u'd-din Jafri: He was the *qazi* of Bada'un and was known for his piety and scholarship. He had compiled a book, *Munfiq*, probably on *Fiqh*. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once remarked: "Qazi Kamal-u'd-din Jafri, who was in charge of Bada'un, had many functions to perform besides his duties as *qazi*, but he used to recite the *Quran* very extensively and very often."⁴ Qazi Kamal lived with great dignity and several servants acted as *durban* at his gate.⁵ In spite of his religious devotion, Qazi Kamal-u'd-din could not escape the criticism of his mystic friend, Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi. Once the Shaikh visited his house. He was told that the Qazi was busy in his prayers. Shaikh Tabrizi smiled and asked: "Does the Qazi know how to offer prayers?"⁶

Qazi Kamal-u'd-din: In the conversations of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi we find a reference to Qazi Kamal-u'd-din who delivered sermons on every Monday and went out for amusement (*tamashas*) the next day. Very often he used to recite the couplet:

اپے مسلمانان مسمانی کنید
خانہ بفروشید و مہمانی کنید

(O Mussalmans! Behave like Mussalmans. Sell your house and entertain your guests).

1. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 219-220.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 84.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 119-120. The name of the Qazi is not mentioned by Amir Hasan but Jamali gives his name in *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 113.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 225.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 236.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 236-237; See also *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 211.

Once the price of grain went up due to scarcity and the Qazi was put to great hardship. He mounted the platform and, looking up at the sky, said: "O God! Thou knoweth well who possesses corn and who does not." Many merchants and traders who had regrated corn and were selling it at black market rates were also present there. On returning home every one of them sent something to the Qazi so that there appeared heaps of corn in his house.¹

It is said that Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj was responsible for legalizing the institution of *Sama'* (mystic music) during his qaziship of Delhi.² Two other *qazis* of the period—Qazi 'Imad and Qazi Sa'd—objected to this practice and approached Iltutmish to convene a *mahzar* to consider its legality.³ It appears that in certain cases a *qazi* could not proceed to take action on his own initiative without consulting the '*ulama* and obtaining their *fatwa*. A Qazi of Ajodhan, who did not approve of Shaikh Farid's audition parties, approached the scholars of Multan for a legal verdict against the Shaikh. "An educated man lives in a mosque, hears songs and dances. What is your opinion about him?" The '*ulama* refrained from expressing any opinion on the basis of that meagre data. "Let us know first of all who the person is about whom you want this *fatwa*," they asked the Qazi. When they heard the name of Shaikh Farid, they replied: "You have referred to a saint against whom no *mujtahid* dare raise his finger." The Qazi then thought of putting an end to the life of the Shaikh by hiring an assassin.⁴

c. The Khatibs and Imams

Normally, only well-read scholars were appointed as *khatibs* and *imams*⁵ because Muslim public opinion did not approve of the appointment of any less qualified person to these posts. When Maulana Malik Yar, who had received no formal education, was assigned the *imamat* of the Bada'un mosque, some people objected to his appointment. Maulana 'Ala-u'd-din Usuli, the leading scholar of Bada'un, criticised the critics and, referring to his exceptional spiritual qualifications, remarked: "Even if the *imamat* of the Friday Mosque of Baghdad was entrusted to Maulana Malik Yar, it would be nothing compared to his abilities".⁶

1. *Sarur-us-Sudur* (MS), p. 22.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 239; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 79.

3. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 117-118.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 153; *Siyar-u'-'Arifin*, pp. 34-35.

5. 'Awfi, who was appointed as royal *Imam* and *Khatib* by Qubachah in 617 A.H./1220 A.D., was an erudite scholar. He delivered a *Khutbah* in Arabic on the occasion of 'Eid-u'l-Fitr. *Lubab-u'l-Albab*, Vol. I, 115. Shaikh Jamal Hansvi who had acted as *Khatib* of Hansi for sometime was also well-versed in Arabic. His *Mulhamat* bear evidence to his knowledge of the Arabic language.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 166.

The *khatibs* and *imams* generally led a very prosperous life. Both state munificence and public respect relieved them of all financial worries. Maulana Jamal-u'd-din, an elder disciple and *khalifah* of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, was employed as *khatib* when he joined his discipleship. The Shaikh asked him to give up *shughl* (government service) which was a necessary condition of his higher spiritual discipline. Maulana Jamal-u'd-din resigned his post and with it all his prosperity departed. "From the time the Khwaja has become a disciple of yours", a maid-servant of Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi informed Baba Farid, "he has given up his villages, property and the office of *khatib*. He is afflicted with starvation and sufferings." "God be praised", replied Shaikh Farid, "Jamal is happy".¹

Guided both by religious and political considerations, the rulers appointed some scholars with rare gifts of the gab as *muzakkirs* and kept them regularly in their service. We hear about *tazkir* meetings being held in the court during the months of Ramazan and Muharram. Minhaj who held the offices of *qaza*, *khitabat*, *imamat*, *ihtisab* and all matters relating to *shari'at*,² writes about himself... "and the writer of these, in the month of Sha'ban of the same year (629H) set out from Delhi and turned his face towards the threshold of sovereignty, and attained that felicity. The author, at certain stated periods, was commanded to deliver discourses at the private pavilion. Three times in each week discourses were fixed; and, when the month of Ramazan came round, a discourse used to be delivered daily. During the whole ten days of Zil Hijjah, and ten days of Muharram, discourses were delivered daily; but, during the other months, those same three stated periods were observed weekly, so that ninety-five times congregations were convened at the entrance of the sublime pavilion."³

Whatever might have been Balban's opinion about Minhaj as a *qazi*, it cannot be gainsaid that he was one of the most gifted preachers of his age. His eloquence often moved the audience to tears. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, who used to attend his *tazkir* meetings on every Monday, was, on one occasion, so deeply overpowered by emotions on hearing him recite verses that for a while he lost all consciousness of his whereabouts.⁴

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 180-181.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

3. Raverty, p. 619

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 191; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 79-80.

Minhaj had recited the following quatrain :

لب بر لب دلبران مهوش کردن و آهنگ سر زلف مشوش کردن
امروز خوش است لیک فردا خوش نیست خود را چو خسی طعمه آتش کردن

Explaining his principles of *tazkir*, Minhaj once told a pupil: "In spite of all my erudition and the esteem which I enjoy as a preacher, I do not place my foot on the pulpit without performing the following three things—first, praise of the Prophet; secondly, recitation of *Bismillah*, thirdly, recitation of the formulae *Allah-o-Akbar*."¹

We find the Sultans often asking their *khatibs* to deliver sermons before the rebels in order to pacify them. In moments of crisis, the 'ulama were asked to inspire and encourage the people by their sermons. On the eve of a Mongol invasion, Bahram Shah convened a *tazkir* meeting in his *Qasr-i-Sufaid* and asked Qazi Minhaj to deliver discourses in his support.²

A very well-known *muzakkir* of this period was Maulana Husam Darwesh. Barani has praised his pungency of wit and power of speech³. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi is reported to have remarked that no one in Delhi could deliver better sermons than Husam. He is referred to as *Malik-uz-Zakirin* in *Surur-us-Sudur*.⁴ During the reign of Mu'izz-u'd-din Kaiqubad, he felt attracted towards court life and became a *nadim* of the Sultan. Minionism demoralized him so completely that he not only became proud and self-conceited⁵ but even developed an inordinate lust for wealth. In order to win royal favour, he began to behave quizzically. One day a man presented a golden monkey to the Sultan who was then taking *tutmaj*⁶ along with his courtiers and *nadims*. He turned to them and said: "Whoever takes this *tutmaj* without touching it with his hands, will get this monkey." The moment Husam heard this, he lowered his chin into the dish. Kaiqubad was so annoyed and astonished at his avaricious conduct that he beckoned to one of his maid servants, Huri by name, to give a blow at his neck. Husam's face was all smeared with *tutmaj*.⁷

Another eminent contemporary of Husam Darwesh was Qazi Nizam-u'd-din. Comparing his own sermons with those of Husam he once said: "Husam-u'd-din talks about flowery (superficial) matters; I talk

1. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS) p. 60. For Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's compliment to Minhaj as a preacher, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 191.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 195.

Referring to the extraordinary persuasive powers of Minhaj, Amir Khusrau remarks:

منہاج مذکری بود کہ از شعلہ زبان آتش در جمع زد

I'jaz-i-Khusravi Vol. I p. 186

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 131

4. *Sarur-us-Sudur*, (MS) p. 90.

5. *Sarur-us-Sudur*, (MS), p. 48.

6. *Tutmaj* is a kind of dish.

7. *Sarur-us-Sudur* (MS), p. 90.

about weighty affairs.”¹ Qazi Nizam-u'd-din was, however, very sensitive. He got irritated at Qazi Minhaj who had once discourteously left the audience while he was delivering a sermon.²

d. Teachers in government institutions

Some outstanding scholars were appointed as teachers in institutions established by the Sultans. We hear of the establishment of *madrasahs* in newly conquered territories during the early period of conquest.³ The Mu'izzi Madrasah and the Nasiriyah Madrasah were the two most reputed centres of higher learning during the thirteenth century and eminent scholars were put incharge of these institutions. These teachers received handsome emoluments from the State and passed their days in affluent circumstances.

It appears that in certain cases the condition of having received education in the formal and traditional way was waived in view of the exceptional capabilities of a person. Maulana Zain-u'd-din had received no formal instruction but he was appointed as a teacher in the Mu'izzi Madrasah because of his extensive knowledge.⁴

Teachers were usually held in great respect. The way in which Taj-u'd-din Yildiz treated a tutor, who had killed his son while using his pedagogic rod, shows the typical attitude of the middle ages.⁵

'Ulama as a Political Clique

During the period under review, the 'ulama emerged as a power in politics—a position which did not materially change till the advent of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji. This influence was, however, political in nature. They did not influence the course of political developments as interpreters of Muslim law but as politicians who had aligned themselves with one or the other of the political groups and dabbled in politics regardless of their dignity and position as religious leaders. During the long and protracted struggle between the crown and the nobility, their influence over the Muslim people was sought to be exploited by both the parties.

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1. *Sarur-us-Sudur* (MS), p. 90.
 2. *Sarur-us-Sudur* (MS), p. 92.
 3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 151.
 4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 23.
 5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 133.

Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami speaks again and again of the respect shown to '*ulama* by Qutb-u'd-din Aibek, but there is not a single reference to their interference in political matters. By the time Iltutmish came to the throne, they had become fully conscious of their position in Indo-Muslim society but their attitude was essentially religious. They were bold and courageous in their outlook and had sufficient independence of spirit. When Iltutmish ascended the throne, a party of '*ulama*, led by Qazi Wajih-u'd-din Kashani, approached him with the intention of enquiring from him whether he had been properly manumitted. Iltutmish understood the purpose of their visit and, before they could say anything, took out the letter of manumission and placed it before them.¹ Iltutmish very tactfully handled the '*ulama* and created such conditions that instead of turning critics of his policy, they became his active supporters and helped him even in the extension of his political power.

But viewed as a whole, Iltutmish's policy towards the '*ulama* did not exercise any healthy influence on their character. His respect for them excited their worldly ambition and, in course of time, they lost their independence of character and fell in line with the moods of the rulers. So much so that when Iltutmish nominated Razia as his successor, there was not a single theologian in the Delhi Empire who could protest against this nomination on grounds of *Shari'at*. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis has justly expressed his surprise at the tacit approval of Razia's accession by the theologians of the period.²

The influence of the '*ulama* on the politics of the Delhi Sultanate became very pronounced from the time of Bahram Shah. Some of the *qazis* established matrimonial relations with the ruling house.³ Malik Badr-u'd-din Sanqar's *coup* was planned with the help of the '*ulama* and the *Qazi-i-Mamalik* and even the secret meetings were held at the residence of the Sadr-u'l-Mulk Sayyid Taj-u'd-din 'Ali Musavi.⁴ The execution of the Qazi of Mahrpura⁵ was probably due to his conspiratorial activities. To counteract the designs of those rebellious groups which had succeeded in enlisting the support of the theologians, Bahram also sought to exploit the influence of the '*ulama*. He asked Minhaj-us-Siraj to deliver

1. '*Aja'ib-u'l-Asfar* Vol. II, p. 52.

2. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi* (MS).

3. e.g. Qazi Nasir-u'd-din who married a sister of Mu'izz-u'd-din Bahram. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 192.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 193.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 195.

sermons before the people,¹ and sent the *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*, Sayyid Qutb-u'd-din, to pacify the contumacious *amirs*.² Minhaj once received some injuries in pleading the cause of the Sultan, but the *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* preferred to change sides rather than risk his life. Minhaj-us-Siraj, who himself belonged to this class of theologian-politicians, has refrained from giving any details about the activities of the 'ulama, probably because the record was not very complimentary, but a few anecdotes that are found in contemporary works—both political and non-political—show that the 'ulama had lost their religious dignity and moral prestige and were wallowing in the dirty waters of politics. No greater demoralisation of the theologians associated with the court could be imagined than the way in which they condoned Kaiqubad's failure to offer his prayers and keep fasts during the month of Ramazan.³

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 195.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 196.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 54.

CHAPTER VI

MUSLIM MYSTIC LIFE AND ORGANIZATION

Muslim mysticism reached India when it had entered the last and the most important phase of its history—the organization of *silsilahs*. Abul Fazl has referred to the work of the following fourteen orders in India¹:

- (1) *Habibia*, founded by Shaikh Habib 'Ajami²,
- (2) *Taifuria*, founded by Shaikh Bayazid Taifur Bistami³,
- (3) *Karkhia*, founded by Khwaja Ma'ruf Karkhi⁴,
- (4) *Saqatia*, founded by Shaikh Abul Hasan Sari Saqati⁵,
- (5) *Junaidia*, founded by Shaikh Junaid Baghdadi⁶,
- (6) *Gazrunia*, founded by Shaikh Abu Ishaq b. Shahryar⁷,
- (7) *Tusia*, founded by Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din Tusi⁸,
- (8) *Firdausia*, founded by Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Kubra⁹,
- (9) *Suhrawardia*, founded by Shaikh Najib-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi¹⁰,
- (10) *Zaidia*, founded by Shaikh 'Abdul Wahib b. Zaid¹¹,
- (11) *'Iyazia*, founded by Shaikh Fuzail b. 'Ayaz¹²,
- (12) *Adhamia*, founded by Shaikh Ibrahim Adham¹³,
- (13) *Hubairia*, founded by Khwaja Hubairat al-Basri¹⁴, and
- (14) *Chishtia*, founded by Khwaja Abu Ishaq¹⁵.

1. *A'in-i-Akbari* II, p. 203.

2. For brief biographical notice, see *Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 60-65; *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 88.

3. See, *Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 125-154; *Nafahat-u'l Uns*, pp. 59-60.

4. See, *Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 229-232; *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 39-40.

5. See, *Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 232-239; *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 55-57.

6. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 189; *Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 284-303; *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 81-85.

7. *A'in-i-Akbari*, II, p. 204.

8. *A'in-i-Akbari*, II, p. 204.

9. *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 375-379; *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, p. 789.

10. See *infra*.

11. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 32-33.

12. *Tazkirat-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 80-88; *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 38-39.

13. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 103; *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 42-44.

14. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 39.

15. *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, p. 296.

This list is so comprehensive that it includes even mystic groups and sub-branches of *silsilahs* in the category of well-organized orders. In fact, many of the *silsilahs* mentioned by Abul Fazl did not exercise any appreciable influence on the religious life and thought of the Indian people during the Sultanate period. Only two *silsilahs*—the Chishtia and the Suhrawardia—count for our period. They were introduced in India almost simultaneously with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. In the century that followed, they spread out in the country, built up their organizations and established themselves in their respective zones. Within a short span of time the entire country, from Multan to Lakhnauti and from Panipat to Deogir, was studded with *khanqahs*, *jama'at khanahs* and *zawiyahs*¹. Early in the 14th century a traveller informed Shihab-u'd-din al-'Umari in Damascus: "In Delhi and its surroundings are *khanqahs* and hospices numbering two thousand."² These *khanqahs*, numerous and extensive as they were, soon wove themselves with the complex culture-pattern of India and helped removing that spirit of mistrust and isolation which honeycombed relations between the various culture-groups of India.

Concept of Spiritual Territories

The concept of *wilayat*³ having taken deep roots in contemporary mystic consciousness, the heads of these *silsilahs* dispatched their *khalifahs* to various provinces, called their *wilayats*; and they, in their turn, appointed subordinate *khalifahs* for *qasbahs* and cities. Thus a hierarchy of saints came to be established in northern India. The chief saint at the centre stood at the apex of the whole system and controlled a net-work of *khanqahs* spread over the country. People reverentially referred to him as

1. Though broadly used in the sense of hospices, these terms differ in their connotation. The *khanqah* was a spacious building which provided separate accommodation for every visitor and inmate. The *jama'at khanah* was a large room where all disciples slept, prayed and studied on the floor. The Chishti saints built *jama'at khanahs*; the Suhrawardis constructed *khanqahs*. Common people, unable to appreciate the distinction, used the word *khanqah* even for the Chishti *jama'at khanahs*, and now the term is used for all centres of spiritual activity without distinction. The *zawiyahs* were smaller places where mystics lived and prayed but, unlike the inmates of *khanqahs* and *jama'at khanahs*, did not aim at establishing any vital contact with the world outside. In the 17th and the 18th centuries another type of *khanqahs*, the *daerahs*, came into existence. The primary aim of these *daerahs* was to provide place for men of one affiliation to devote their time to religious meditation. They were smaller than the *zawiyahs*.

2. *Masalik ul-Absar fi Mumalik ul-Amsar*, English translation of the portion dealing with India, by O. Spies, p. 24.

3. See *supra*, p. 57. Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Yahya Maneri has discussed at some length the significance of the concept of *wilayat* and the position of *wali* in one of his letters (*Maktubat-i-Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Yahya*, Newal Kishore 1315 A.H., p. 24 *et seq.*) See also *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* (Letters of Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani) MS, Letter No. 73. 'Abdul Ghaffur Danapuri's *Nusah-u'l-Ibad fi Wujud-u'l-Qutb wa'l-Abdal* (Nami Press, Lucknow 1307 A.H.) for a detailed discussion of the subject on the basis of early authorities.

Sultan-u'l-'Arifin, Sultan-u'l-Mashaikh, Shah-i-din, Sultan-u'l-Hind etc.¹ and often used political terminology to indicate his position and sphere of spiritual activity². The following incident, recorded in the earliest and the most reliable authority on the mystic ideology of medieval India, the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, gives some idea of the exactness with which the areas of spiritual supervision and control were determined:

A musician, 'Abdullah by name, came to Ajodhan and stayed with Shaikh Farid. After a brief sojourn, he took leave of the Shaikh and requested him to pray for his safe journey to Multan. The Shaikh replied:

ازین جا تا بدان موضع که چندین کروه باشد
 آنجا حوضی است، تا آنجا حد من است
 سلامت خواهی رسید، از آنجا تا ملتان
 در عهده شیخ بهاء الدین است

(From this place to that *mauza*, which is at a distance of so many *karohs* from here and where there is a tank, it is my territory. You will reach that place safely. From that place to Multan it is under the charge of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din.)³

Medieval records abound in innumerable instances of territorial distributions of this type⁴ and the seriousness with which reference is made to them by the contemporary mystic writers shows the extent of medieval faith in them. It was under the influence of these ideas that in some towns of northern India elder saints came to be known as *Shah-i-Wilayats*⁵.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 2; *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, pp. 45, 48, 57.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72; *Matla'-u'l-Anwar*, pp. 20, 23; *Shirin Khusrau*, p. 12; *Majnun Laila*, p. 13; *Hasht Bihisht*, pp. 13-14. Note, for instance, the following verses about Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya:

او شه از ملک بسامان خویش
 داده ولایت بغلامان خویش

—————
 گردان ممالک ملکوت
 مشرف کارخانه جبروت

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 137-138.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 135; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 'Afif, pp. 61-62. See also *Maktubat-i-Ashrafi* (MS, Letter No. 73), where he says that Hansi is the frontier between the Chishti and the Suhrawardi jurisdictions:

هانسی در اکبر چشتیه و امائر نیک سرشتیه سهروردیه سرحد است

5. Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Samnani writes in a letter:

”باید دانست که حق تعالی تقسیم ولایت هندوستان باولیا روزگار کرده که هرکدامی
 بهم خویش را محافظت نمایند از نزول بلا هائی متذوعه و حلول آفتهای مختلفه“

(*Maktubat-i-Ashrafi*, MS. Letter No. 73). For accounts of some graves of *Shah-i-Wilayats*, see *Tarikh-i-Amroha* Vol. II, pp. 4-20; *Tazkirat-u'l-Wasilin*, pp. 32-36; *Ma'asir-u'l-Kiram*, p. 9.

Though in some other Muslim lands bitter struggles had, sometimes, taken place between saints of different affiliations for the spiritual control of certain areas¹, such ugly situations were averted in India by the spirit of mutual trust and accommodation which characterized the relations of the Chishti and the Suhrawardi saints². The Chishti supremacy in Delhi was temporarily threatened by the activities of the Firdausi saints³ but, very soon, the pressure of public opinion forced them to migrate to Bihar.

Eager to work out the concept of spiritual sovereignty to its full length, the medieval mystics assigned the importance of regalia to some of the articles of their daily use. The patched frock (*khirqah*), the prayer-carpet (*sajjadah*), the wooden sandals (*na'lain-i-chubin*), the rosary (*tasbih*) and the rod (*'asa*) of the chief saint constituted the mystic insignia in medieval India and whomsoever a Shaikh entrusted these articles in his last moments came to be regarded as his chief spiritual successor⁴.

The Suhrawardi and Chishti centres of activity

The Suhrawardi *silsilah* flourished most vigorously in Sind and the Punjab. A few Suhrawardi saints decided to settle in Delhi and Awadh, but they were overshadowed by their Chishti neighbours. In fact, the Suhrawardi *silsilah* could not secure any permanent footing in the Gangetic plains. Multan and Uchch remained throughout this period the two principal centres of its activity in India. Multan being a frontier town all caravans from either

1. See *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, (p. 299) for details of tussle between Shaikh Maudud Chishti and Shaikh Ahmad Jam, the leader of the *Silsilah-i-Khwajgan*, for spiritual control of Herat.

2. Two such situations arose in India also, but were amicably resolved by the saints of the two *silsilahs*. When Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki reached Multan from Baghdad, Qubachah requested him to settle there permanently. Suspecting an intrusion into his spiritual territory, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya went to see Qutb Sahib and conveyed to him, in a peculiar mystic manner, his desire to leave his *wilayat*. The polite way of asking a saint to leave one's spiritual territory was to place his shoes in the direction one would like him to go. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din placed the shoes of Qutb Sahib in the direction of Delhi and the latter lost no time in quitting Multan (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 61). Jamali says that Qutb Sahib told Qubachah: "This land has been placed under the spiritual protection of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya and it will remain under him". (*Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 20). Nearly a hundred years after this, Sultan Mubarak Khalji requested Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Multani, a grandson of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din, to set up a *khanqah* in Delhi in order to turn away the public eye from Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, but he refused to interfere in the spiritual jurisdiction of his Chishti contemporary (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 136).

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 147; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 202.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 121-122; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 287. See also *A'ina-i-Sikandari*, (p. 12) where Amir Khusrau writes about his spiritual mentor:

ز نعلین چوبی شدہ تخت گیر
یکی کرسیش گشته دیگر سریر

direction stayed there and came into touch with the Suhrawardi saints and carried their fame to distant parts of the Muslim world. The Suhrawardi saints, consequently, came to be respected in the Turkish lands.¹

The Chishtis established their centres at Ajmer, Narnaul, Suwal, Nagaur and Mandal in Rajputana; Hansi and Ajodhan in the Punjab and in some towns of U.P. Later on the *silsilah* spread into other parts of the country and Chishti centres sprang up in Bihar, Bengal, Assam and the Deccan. The Chishti saints succeeded in attaining all-India status and people flocked to their hospices from every part of the country. Even Chisht, the cradle-land of the *silsilah*, looked to Delhi for guidance in spiritual matters.²

Two questions may very pertinently be raised in this context: What factors determined the success or failure of a *silsilah* in a particular region and how did a saint attain all-India status in those days of limited means of communications?—The success of a *silsilah* depended very largely on a Shaikh's ability to adjust and adapt himself to the mental and emotional climate of a particular region. What the mystics call *naifs-i-gira*—an intuitive intelligence that could understand, comprehend, control and direct the mind of the people—was needed in an abundant degree to appreciate the spiritual needs and emotional requirements of the people and attract them to the mystic-fold. Unless the saints of a *silsilah* identified themselves with the problems of the people—their worries, their hopes and their aspirations—their organization floated in a vacuum and failed to strike roots into the soil. The popularity and success of the Chishti saints in India was due to their understanding of the Indian conditions and the religious attitudes and aspirations of the Indian people. They adopted many Hindu customs and ceremonials in the initial stages of the development of their *silsilah* in India. The practice of bowing before the Shaikh³, presenting water to visitors⁴, circulating *zanbil*⁵, shaving the head of new entrants to the mystic circle⁶, audition

1. When Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq executed Shaikh Hud, he remarked: "I know thy intention was to escape to Turkistan and tell people: 'I am a descendant of (Shaikh) Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya of Multan and the King has ill-treated me.'" (Ibn Battutah, Vol. II, p. 145). This shows that Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya was deeply respected in the Turkish lands.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 202.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 158-159.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 137.

5. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 150; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66.

6. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 65-66.

parties (*sama'*) and the *chillah-i-ma'kus*¹ (the Inverted *Chillah*) had close resemblance to Hindu and Buddhist practices and, consequently, the appeal of the Chishti *silsilah* in the non-Muslim environment—particularly when the saints who represented it led an extremely simple and pious life—was tremendous. Besides, the difference in the Suhrawardi and the Chishti attitudes towards the non-Muslims went a long way in determining the range and sphere of their influence. The Chishtis believed in the control of emotional life as a pre-requisite to the control of external behaviour. The Suhrawardis tackled the problem from the other end and emphasised the necessity of regulating actions prior to the control of emotions. This damped the prospects of Suhrawardi expansion in non-Muslim environment. It worked well in Muslim surroundings and served the spiritual needs of the Muslim community but, when it came to non-Muslim lands, its progress stopped. The following two incidents bring out very neatly the difference in the attitudes of the two *silsilahs* and help us also in analysing the causes of their success or failure in particular areas:

(1) Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari Makhdum-i-Jahanian (ob. 1384) was on his death bed. Nawahun, a *darogah* of Uchch, called on him to enquire about his health. "May God restore your health," said Nawahun, "Your holiness is the last of the saints as the Prophet Muhammad was the last of the prophets." Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari and his brother, Sadr-u'd-din Raju Qattal, construed it as an expression of faith in Islam and, therefore, they demanded a formal declaration of conversion from him. Nawahun firmly declined to make any such declaration. Thereupon he was charged of apostasy. He fled to the court of Firoz Shah Tughluq in search of asylum and redress. When Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari expired, his younger brother pursued the matter further and reached Delhi in order to persuade Firoz Shah to execute Nawahun. Though some scholars of the capital did not agree with the view point of Raju Qattal, the latter prevailed upon Firoz Shah in obtaining his permission for Nawahun's execution as a renegade.²

(2) A visitor asked Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya: "If a Hindu recites the *Kalimah* (Muslim formulae of faith), and believes in the Unity of God and acknowledges the Prophethood of Muhammad; but, when a Mussalman comes, he keeps silent. What will be his ultimate end?" The Shaikh refused to pronounce any verdict on such a Hindu and remarked: "His affair is with God. He can punish him or forgive him as He likes."³

On another occasion a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya brought a Hindu friend with him and introduced him saying: "He is my brother." "Has your brother any inclination towards Islam?" asked the Shaikh. "I have brought him to your feet," the man replied, "so that owing to the blessings of the Shaikh's glance, he may become a Mussalman." "You may talk to these people as much as you like," replied Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, "but no one's heart is changed. Still if he lives in the company of a pious man, it is possible that owing to the blessing of his company, he may become a Mussalman". The Shaikh's eyes were filled with tears as he narrated a long story

1. One who wants to practise the *chillah-i-ma'kus* ties a rope to his feet and gets his body lowered into a well and offers prayers in this posture for forty nights. Some of the Chishti saints are reported to have practised this inverted *Chillah*. Shah Wali ullah, however, remarks: "We could not find any authority for it in the Traditions of the Prophet or in the sayings of the jurists.... Its legality or otherwise is known to God alone." (*Qaul-u'l-Jamil*, p. 53) This practice was probably borrowed from the Sadhus. Among the Hindus there is a class of Sadhus known as *Urdhamukhi* about whom it is said that they hang their heads downwards suspended from the bough of a tree or a suitable framework and pray. J. C. Oman: *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, p. 46.

2. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 159-160.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 135.

to show that there was lack of character among the Mussalmans themselves. When Shaikh Bayazid Bistami died, he told his Hindu visitor, people asked a Jew who lived in the neighbourhood of the saint: "Why do you not become a Mussalman?" "If Islam is what Bayazid possessed, it is beyond me. If it is what you possess, I would feel ashamed of such Islam," replied the Jew¹.

This difference in the attitudes of the Chishti and the Suhrawardi saints, on the question of conversion, was bound to react on their popularity and was a very vital factor in determining the spheres of their activity.

A saint's fame was carried from one place to another by travellers, merchants, scholars and musicians who broke the isolation of medieval towns and established cultural and commercial contacts on a large scale. Itineracy being an integral part of mystic discipline in those days, religious-minded people enquired about saintly persons in every town they happened to visit². Professional musicians who went from *khanqah* to *khanqah*, singing songs and earning money, prided in narrating their experiences before people and thus they increased, rather unconsciously, the circle of a saint's admirers.³ Merchants carried with their goods the blessings of a saint and with them his name also.⁴ Thus, in course of time, a saint attained all-India status. In the *khanqahs* of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya and Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar—the two most outstanding saints of all-India reputation during the thirteenth century—we find visitors from Khurasan,⁵ Delhi,⁶ Uchch,⁷ Nagaur,⁸ Ajmer,⁹ Buhar,¹⁰ Lakhnauti¹¹ and other places.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 182-183.

2. When Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi visited Kahtwal (near Multan), he asked people about the saints of that place and they directed him to Shaikh Farid who was, at that time, a boy of tender age. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 219-220.

3. Abu Bakr, a *qawwal* of Bada'un, returned home, after visiting Multan and Ajodhan. He went to a school (*maktab*) and, recounting the experiences of his journey before the school-master, praised the piety and devotion of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya and Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, who was one of the schoolmates at that time, heard the story and developed sudden and intense love for Shaikh Farid. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 149; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. p. 100.

4. A merchant of Nagaur who carried mustard seed to Multan and brought cotton from there to Nagaur, acted as a medium for the exchange of letters between Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya and Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 158-159.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 63-64.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 219.

7. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 81.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 188-189.

9. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 238.

10. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 57.

11. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 335.

A: THE CHISHTI SILSILAH—ITS SAINTS AND ORGANISATION:

Founder of the Silsilah

As noticed earlier, the Chishti *silsilah* was introduced in India by Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Sijzi¹ who reached here before the Turkish conquest of Hindustan.²

One trying to reconstruct an account of the life and teachings of the founder of the Chishti order in India should frankly confess the paucity of authentic records about him. The three contemporary political chroniclers—Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and Minhaj—do not refer to him at all. Of the early mystic records, the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and the *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, do not give any information about him. Barani makes no reference to him. 'Isami tells us only this much that Muhammad b. Tughluq had once visited his grave.³ The two earliest mystic works that supply any information about him are the *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (conversations of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi Suwali Nagauri, compiled by his grandson during the Tughluq period) and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* of Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak Kirmani, known as Mir Khurd, a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* contains only few interesting pieces of information about the saint's life, while Mir Khurd's account is of a very general nature and does not help us in forming any opinion about his life or work in Rajputana. The first detailed account of his life is given by Maulana Hamid b. Fazlullah popularly known as Maulana Jamali⁴ (ob. 1536) who

1. Faulty transcription is responsible for this word being converted into *Sanjari*. The Shaikh was a native of Sijistan and was, on that account, called Sijzi. The following couplet of 'Isami can rhyme properly only if this word is read as *Sijzi*.

و زو در بر آن خرقه عهدی بعید معین الدین آن پیر سجزی کشید
(*Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 8)

See also *Intibah fi-Salasil-i-Auliya Allah* (p. 88), for Shah Wali-ullah's opinion on this point.

2. Thus informs Mir Khurd on the authority of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 46). *Sarur-u's-Sudur* refers to Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din's visit to Delhi along with forty friends during the reign of Iltutmish. It is, however, not clear whether he had reached Delhi from beyond or had come from Ajmer. The following statement of Minhaj

این د اعی از ثقه شنید که از معارف جہال بلاد تولک بود لقب او معین الدین
او می گفت که من دران لشکر با سلطان غازی بودم' عدد سوار لشکر اسلام دران
وقت صد و بسیت هزار برگستوان بود

(*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 119).

has led some writers to identify Mu'in-u'd-din with the saint of Ajmer. This identification, however, does not seem to be correct.

3. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 466.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 4-16.

had personally visited all places where Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din is said to have passed his early years. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether Jamali could collect authentic information about the saint nearly three centuries after his death, specially when the mystic traditions were on the decline in the Persian lands. Anyway, Jamali is the only hagiologist of the early Mughal period whose account of the Shaikh deserves any credence. All later *tazkirah*,¹ with the solitary exception of *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*,² have horribly confused facts with fiction and have regaled all that they found floating down the stream of time. This literature may be of value in tracing the growth of legends round the Shaikh's person; its historical value is, nevertheless, very meagre. The *malfuz* literature³ and the *diwan* attributed to Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din are apocryphal and it would be, therefore, unfair to the saint to attempt any estimate of his life or work on the basis of this fabricated literature.⁴

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din was born in or about 536 A.H./1141 A.D.⁵ in Sijistan, an extensive province lying to the east of Persia. His father, Sayyid Ghiyas-u'd-din, a pious man of some means, died when his son was in his teens. He left as legacy an orchard and a grinding mill. Once the Shaikh was looking after the plants in his garden that a mystic, Shaikh Ibrahim Qanduzi, happened to pass by. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din entertained

1. Of the *tazkirahs* that were produced during the Mughal period and contain an account of the great saint, the following deserve to be specially mentioned:

Gulzar-i-Abrar, compiled by Muhammad Ghausi Shattari between 1014-1022 A.H./1605-1613 A.D. *Akhbar-u'l-Asfiya* compiled by Abdus Samad, a nephew of Abul Fazl in 1014 A.H./1605 A.D. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* compiled by Maulana 'Abdur Rahman Chishti in 1065 A.H./1654. *Majma'-u'l-Auliya* compiled by 'Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani in 1043 A.H./1633-34 A.D. *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* compiled by Allah Diya Chishti in 1056 A.H./1646 A.D. *Jawahir-i-Faridi* compiled by 'Ali Asghar Chishti in 1033 A.H./1623 A.D. *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* compiled by Ghulam Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abdullah in 1094 A.H./1682 A.D. *Munis-u'l-Arwah* compiled by Jahan Ara Begum in 1049 A.H./1640 A.D.

2. The compiler of this work, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis of Delhi (ob. 1641) has carefully sifted all available evidence and has based his account of the saint on reliable authorities.

3. The following works are attributed to Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din:

- (a) *Ganj-u'l-Asrar* (MS)—said to have been compiled by the Khwaja for Sultan Iltutmish, at the instance of Khwaja 'Usman Harvani.
- (b) *Anis-u'l-Arwah* (Collection of Khwaja 'Usman Harvani's conversations) said to have been compiled by the Khwaja.
- (c) *Dalil-u'l-'Arifin* (a collection of the Khwaja's conversations) said to have been made by Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki.
- (d) *Diwan-i-Mu'in* (really a collection of Maulana Mu'in Harvi's poetic compositions, wrongly attributed to the Khwaja.)

4. See Prof. M. Habib's article: *Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period* (p. 17 et seq) *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2.

5. No earlier writer has given his date of birth. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq informs us that he died in 633 A.H./1236 A.D. (*Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 22). Jamali says that he attained the age of 97 years. (*Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 16). Calculated on this basis, his date of birth should be circa 536 A.H./1141 A.D.

him in his garden. Hagiologists trace the germination of mystic attitude in him to the blessings of this saint. In fact, the most powerful factor in giving a mystic touch to his personality at this early stage was the condition of Sijistan which had suffered terribly at the hands of the Qara Khita and the Ghuzz Turks. It drove the Shaikh's mind inwards and he realized the futility of hankering after worldly glory or looking after worldly goods. He sold all his assets, gave the proceeds in charity and took to itineracy. He visited the seminaries of Samarqand and Bukhara and acquired religious learning at the feet of eminent scholars of his age. While on his way to Iraq, he passed through Harvan, a *qasbah* in the district of Naishapur. Here he met Khwaja 'Usman¹ and was so deeply impressed by his spiritual eminence that he decided to join the circle of his disciples. For twenty years he accompanied him on his arduous mystic journeys and performed all sorts of personal services to him. "I did not give myself a moment's rest from the service of my master, and carried about his night clothes during his journeys and stoppages", Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din once told his disciples.² Later he undertook independent journeys and came into contact with eminent saints and scholars like Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani³, Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Kubra,⁴ Shaikh Najib-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi,⁵ Shaikh Abu Sa'id Tabrizi,⁶ Shaikh Mahmud Ispahani,⁷ Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Astarabadi⁸ and Shaikh 'Abdul Wahid⁹—all of whom were destined to exercise great influence on contemporary religious life and thought. He visited nearly all the great centres of Muslim culture in those days—Samarqand

1. For brief account see, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 44-45.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 45.

3. See *supra*, pp. 57-58.

4. Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Kubra (1145-1228 A.D.) was one of the most striking personalities among the Persian Sufis of the 12th-13th century A.D. In the long series of his disciples one finds eminent mystics like Shaikh Majd-u'd-din Baghdadi, Shaikh Saif-u'd-din Bakharzi and Shaikh Sa'd-u'd-din Hamavi. He was a prolific writer and left a number of valuable treatises on various aspects of mysticism. For his life, see *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 375-379; *Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, p. 789; *Majalis-u'l-Ushshaq*, Bombay p. 84; Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 1100. Also E. Berthel's article in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, pp. 822-823.

5. See *supra* pp. 58-59.

6. Shaikh Yusuf Hamadani (ob. 1140 A.D.) was a distinguished saint and scholar of his time and large number of students from Baghdad, Ispahan and Samarqand visited his seminary. Khwaja 'Abdul Khaliq Ghajdawani, the famous saint of the *Silsilah-i-Khwajgan*, was his *khalifah*. For brief account see, *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 337-339.

7. A notable saint of Ispahan. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 7.

8. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din, a distinguished saint of Astarabad, lived up to a ripe old age of 107 years. Shaikh Abul Hasan Khirqani and Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abul Khair were among his friends. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 9.

9. Shams-u'l-'Arifin 'Abdul Wahid was an eminent saint of Ghaznin. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Abul Muwayyid (for whom see *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 45) was his disciple. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 12.

Bukhara, Baghdad, Naishapur, Tabriz, Aush, Ispahan, Sabzwar, Mihna, Khirqan, Astarabad, Balkh and Ghaznin—and acquainted himself with almost every important trend in Muslim religious life in the middle ages. His moral and spiritual qualities attracted many people to his fold and he appointed his *khalifahs* in Sabzwar and Balkh¹. Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Kirmani, Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi and many other eminent mystics benefited by his company. Having thus roamed all over the Muslim lands which had not yet recovered from the terrible shocks of Qara Khitai and Ghuzz invasions and were to be ravaged very soon by the Mongols, he turned towards India. After a brief stay at Lahore, where he prayed and meditated at the tomb of the pioneer mystic teacher, Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri, he proceeded to Ajmer.

Ajmer was not merely the seat of Chauhan power; it was a religious centre also where thousands of pilgrims assembled from far and near. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din's determination to work out the principles of Islamic mysticism at a place of such political and religious significance shows great self-confidence. Unfortunately, no details are available about the way he worked in the midst of a population which looked askance at every foreigner. It cannot, however, be denied that his stay in Ajmer must have been a serious trial for the principles of the Chishti *silsilah*. On his success or failure in Ajmer depended the future of the Muslim mystic movement in Hindustan. Some of his sayings, as recorded by Mir Khurd, supply the quintessence of his religious and social ideology and reveal him as a man of wide sympathies, catholic views and deep humanism. The entire structure of his thought stood on the bedrock of the following three principles and he very neatly illustrated the working of these principles in his life:

- (i) Explaining his views about the Universe, the Shaikh said:²

چوں ما از پوست بیروں آمدیم و نگاه کردیم عاشق و معشوق و عشق
یکی دیدیم 'یعنی در عالم توحید همه یکپست

(When we transcended the externals and looked around, we found the lover, the beloved and the love (itself) to be one, i.e. in the sphere of Oneness all is one.)

This pantheistic approach brought him very close to the treasures of ancient Hindu religious thought, particularly the Upanishads, and created an atmosphere favourable for the exchange of ideas at a higher level.

1. But the Khwaja's *silsilah* did not flourish in those lands. Viewed as a whole, the Chishti *silsilah* found the most congenial soil in India and it developed and flourished here more vigorously than in any other country.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 45.

(ii) Defining the highest form of devotion to God (*ta'at*), the Shaikh remarked that it was nothing but:

در ماندگان را فریاد رسیدن و حاجت بچارگان
روا کردن و گرسنگان را سیر گردانیدن

(To redress the misery of those in distress; to fulfil the needs of the helpless and to feed the hungry).

Thus religion is not merely raised above rituals and ecclesiastical formalities but 'service of humanity' is made its very *raison d'être*.

(iii) Describing the qualities which endear a man to God, the Shaikh referred to the following attributes:¹

اول سخاوتی چون سخاوت دریا، دوم شفقتی چون
شفقت آفتاب، سیوم تواضعی چون تواضع زمین

(First, river-like generosity; secondly, sun-like affection; and thirdly, earth-like hospitality).

This mystic morality saved human sympathy from running into narrow grooves and struck at the very root of parochialism, casteism and religious exclusiveness.

These three principles which reveal Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti's attitude towards some of the basic problems of religion and morality, supplied the motive power to the Chishti organization in India during the 13th century. In fact, the success achieved by its saints during the period under review is inexplicable except with reference to these principles.

Principal saints of the Chishti Silsilah

Two very eminent disciples of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din popularized the Chishti *silsilah* in northern India: Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi in Rajputana and Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki in Delhi.² One worked in the rural, the other in the urban *milieu*.

Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sufi³ (ob. 673 A.H./1276 A.D.) was a posthumous child of Shaikh Muhammad al-Sufi, a descendant of Sa'id b. Zaid, one of the ten leading companions of the Prophet. He was the first Muslim child to see the light of the day in Delhi after its conquest by the Mussalmans.⁴

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 46.

2. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, refer to these two *khalifahs* only. Later *tazkirahs* have added several other names to this list.

3. For brief biographical accounts, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 156-164; *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 13-14; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 29-36. An account of his conversations was prepared by one of his grandsons in a less-known, but very important, work *Sarur-u's-Sudur*.

4. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, quotes the following statement of the Shaikh:

اول کسی که بعد از (فتح) اسلام در دهلی زاده شد من بودم

p. 8. See also *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 29.

In his early years he had led a very voluptuous life¹, but, when he joined the circle of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din's disciples, a sudden change came upon him. He repented for his past sins and adopted the life of a mystic in all sincerity and with all its rigours. He became so thoroughly disgusted with things material and mundane that he warned his visitors against discussing worldly affairs in his mystic gatherings.² Impressed by his devotion to the mystic way of life, Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din gave him the title of *Sultan-u't-Tarikin* (King of Recluses).³

Far from the hurry and bustle of medieval towns, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din lived the self-sufficient life of an Indian peasant at Suwal, a small village in Nagaur.⁴ Whatever he needed—and his needs never exceeded a few maunds of grain and a few yards of rough hand-woven cloth—he himself produced and scrupulously avoided coming into contact with the government of the day. His life at Nagaur affords one of the earliest glimpses of Muslim family life in the Indian countryside. He lived in a small mud house and eked out his meagre subsistence by cultivating a single *bighah* of land.⁵ The principle of the rotation of crops being unknown in those days,⁶ he cultivated half of his land in one season and the other half in the next. He dressed himself like a typical Indian peasant and used two sheets of cloth to cover the upper and the lower parts of his body.⁷ He kept a cow in his house and himself milched it.⁸ His wife—a lady of fervent piety and strong mystic temperament—spent her time in cooking and spinning like a peasant woman.⁹ Like most of the villagers amongst whom he lived, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din was a strict vegetarian.¹⁰ His dislike for meat-eating was so great that he warned his disciples against distributing meat-preparations for

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 156; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 13.

2. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS) p. 5.

Yasin, a Turk disciple of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din, was a man of means and possessed considerable wealth. Once, while on a journey, he lost all his property and was reduced to a state of penury. The Shaikh did not pray for the recovery of his property and said that his affection for Yasin prevented him from making such a request to God. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, p. 7.

3. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 29.

4. For Nagaur, see *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona*, November 1940. M.A. Chaghtai's article: *Nagaur, a forgotten kingdom* (pp. 166-183).

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 156-157. Jamali says that this plot measured ten *jarib* only and was situated near a river (*Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 13).

6. The principle of the rotation of crops was introduced by Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 498.

7. Amir Khurd writes about him:

یک قوطه چادر در کمر بستى و چادر دیگر بر سر وجود مبارک انداختى

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, p. 157.

8. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS) p. 14.

9. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS) p. 9.

10. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS) pp. 10,43

blessing his soul after his death.¹ The family carried on conversation in *Hindivi*.¹

Touched by his penitence and poverty, the *muqta'* of Nagaur offered a plot of land and some cash to him. The Shaikh apologized saying that none of his elder saints had accepted a government gift. The *muqta'* then reported the matter to the Sultan who sent 500 silver *tankahs* with a *farman* conferring a village on him. When the *muqta'* presented the royal gift to him, he hastened to inform his wife just to study her reactions to the prospects of a life of material prosperity and comfort. The couple was in such a state of penury at that time that the wife had a tattered *dupatta* on her head, and the saint a grimy loin-cloth on his body. "O Khwaja", replied his wife, "Do you want to disgrace years of spiritual devotion and penitence by accepting this gift? Do not worry. I have spun two seers of yarn. It would suffice for preparing a loin-cloth for you and a *dupatta* for me". Shaikh Hamid was delighted at this reply. He informed the *muqta'* that he had decided not to accept the royal gift. Himself convinced that sainthood could not be reconciled with possession of material means, he severely criticised some of those contemporary saints who led a life of affluence and plenty. Once Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din put a question to an audience in Delhi: "Tell me who is the Shaikh of the times these days?" To the utter surprise of all those present, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din replied:

شیخ روزگار دریں وقت جتیل است، هرکرا
جتیل بسیار است، هموں شیخ وقت است

(These days *Jital* is the Shaikh of the times. Whoever possesses the larger amount of *jitals*, is the Shaikh of the day).

This attitude inevitably brought him into conflict with the leader of the Suhrawardi order in India, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya of Multan. He wrote long and acrimonious letters to him on this subject. Enraged at this blatant criticism of his father's behaviour, a son of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya travelled all the way from Multan to Nagaur and criticised Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din for not offering Friday prayers. Shaikh Hamid silenced his critic by raising a legal objection to the demand of offering Friday prayers in Nagaur. "Nagaur is not a town and so Friday prayers cannot be held here,"³ declared Shaikh Hamid.

Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din was a man of affable temperament and wide human sympathies which made him a popular figure in Nagaur. His catholicity of views is best illustrated by the fact that he could discern and appreciate spiritual virtues in non-Muslims also.⁴

1. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS) p. 10. The Shaikh used to say :

اگر بروج من چیزی بخواهید که بدهید باید که گوشت ندهید

2. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), pp. 43, 47, 71, 104, 106, etc.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 158.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, P. 70.

Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki¹ (ob. 1235 A.D.), the other distinguished *khalifah* of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din, was a native of Aush,² a great centre of the Hallaji mystics.³ After finishing his education at Aush, he turned towards Baghdad where he met eminent mystics, like Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Gilani, Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi, Qazi Hamid-u'd-din and Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Kirmani.⁴ It was in the mosque of Abu Lais Samarqandi that he met Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din and decided to join the circle of his disciples.

When Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti turned toward India, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din took to travels in other lands. He reached Delhi several years after his master's arrival at Ajmer. After a brief stay at Multan, he left for Delhi where the Turks were busy laying foundations of Muslim political and cultural institutions. Eminent Muslim saints, divines and scholars had flocked to this city from all sides and the enlightened and liberal patronage of Sultan Iltutmish offered them a safe haven of refuge.⁵ When Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki entered the town, Iltutmish accorded a hearty welcome to him and requested him to stay near his palace. But the Shaikh wanted to avoid identification with the centre of imperial power and conquest. He, therefore, refused to live with the Sultan. Iltutmish, however, made it a point to visit his *khanqah* outside the city twice a week.⁶ Once the Shaikh thus advised the Sultan:

1. For his life, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 48-57; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 16-31; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 24-26; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS); *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS); *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, pp. 142-161 and *Rauzah-i-Aqtab*, pp. 3-30.

2. Aush is a town in Farghanah, south-east of Andijan. Prof. Louis Massignon very kindly informed me: "I have published from the Russian translation of Sidikov, a Qaraqyrapghy text in praise of Hallaj (=Mansur), in the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1946, 77-78, proving that Osh was a centre of the Mansuri Sufis."

3. A Sufi order named after the famous Persian mystic Abu'l Mughis al-Husain bin Mansur-al-Hallaj (244-309 A.H./858-922 A.D.). The doctrines of the Hallajiya order may be thus summarised:

- (a) in *Fiqh*, the five *fara'iz*, even the Hajj may be replaced by other works (*isaqat-a'l-wasa'it*).
- (b) in *Kalam*, God's transcendence (*tanzih*) above the limits of creation (*tul arz*), the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit (*Ruh-i-Natiqah*), which becomes united with the created *Ruh* (spirit) of the ascetic (*hulul-a'l-lahut-fi'l-nasut*); the saint becomes the living and personal witness of God, whence the saying: *An'l-Haqq* "I am creative Truth."
- (c) in *Tasawwuf*, perfect union with the divine will through desire of and submission to suffering.

4. Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Hamid al-Kirmani was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Albahri and had associated with the great mystic Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i-'Arabi who has referred to him in his famous work, *Futuh-i-Mecciah*. For brief biographical notice, see *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 385-387.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166; *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 109-110.

6. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 21.

'O ruler of Delhi! It is incumbent on thee to be good to all poor people, mendicants, dervishes and helpless folk. Treat all men kindly and strive for their welfare. Everyone who thus behaves towards his subjects is looked after by the Almighty and all his enemies turn into friends'.¹

Iltutmish offered the post of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* to him, but he declined to accept it.² Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Sughra was then appointed to this post. A vain and self-conceited man as Sughra was, he grew jealous of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din who was respected by the Sultan and the people alike.³ Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti was deeply grieved at this attitude of the *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*. He asked his disciple to quit Delhi and accompany him to Ajmer. The people of Delhi received this news with a heavy heart and when the Shaikh and his disciple set out for Ajmer, they followed them for miles. Iltutmish himself followed the two saints. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din was deeply touched with this spontaneous expression of love and affection for his disciple. He allowed Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din to remain in Delhi. Iltutmish kissed the feet of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din and brought Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din back to the capital.⁴

Though Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar did not associate himself with the ruler or the bureaucracy in building the political institutions of the Delhi Sultanate, he extended his moral support to the Sultan in the construction of public works and centres of cultural activity. Many hagiological works refer to his keen interest in the construction of the famous water-reservoir, the *Hauz-i-Shamsi*.

Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din was very fond of mystic music (*sama'*). One day he was invited to an audition party held in the *khanqah* of Shaikh 'Ali Sijzi. When the singers recited the verses:

کشتگان خنجر تسلیم را
هر زمان از غیب جانی دیگر است

(To the victims of the dagger of Submission

There comes a new life at every moment from the Unseen World),
he was suddenly overtaken by a state of ecstasy and for four days he could

1. *Risalah Hal Khanwadah-i-Chisht*, (MS), f 17b.

2. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 21, Jamali says that this offer was made after the death of Maulana Jamal-u'd-din Muhammad Bistami (p. 21) but this does not seem to be correct. It appears from the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Raverty p. 702) that Maulana Bistami survived Iltutmish and was appointed *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* by Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud in 653 A.H.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 54.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 54-55; *Jawami'-u'l-Kilam*, p. 208.

not get out of this emotional storm.¹ On the fifth night (*Rabi'ul-Awwal* 14, 633/November 15, 1235) he breathed his last.

Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar left two chief *khalifahs*—Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznavi² and Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar.³ The former attained some popularity in Delhi but did not succeed in organizing the *silsilah* on firm foundations. The latter lived and worked mainly in Hansi and Ajodhan and it was due to his efforts that the Chishti order attained an all-India status and its branches came to be established in many important towns of India.

Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznavi was, in certain respects, a typical example of the material and moral conflicts of his age. He came to Lahore under the stress of unfavourable conditions of his homeland and, probably, attracted by the prospects of a peaceful and prosperous life in the newly emerging Empire of Delhi. While in Lahore, he was overtaken by a feeling of homesickness. He could not decide whether he should proceed to Delhi, where he had a son-in-law, or return to Ghaznin where his parents and relatives lived. To get out of this dilemma, he consulted the *Quran* and was directed to go to Delhi. Later on he came to know that Ghaznin had been ransacked by the Mongols and all his relations had been killed. This tragic incident drove his mind inwards and he took to mysticism. But mysticism could not mould into unity the broken fragments of his personality and his mind remained torn by contradictions. The traditions of the *silsilah*, to which he had associated himself, demanded total rejection of all earthly ties and severance of all contacts with the rulers and the bureaucracy. But the imperial city of Delhi had its own allurements which it was difficult to ignore. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din too could not hold fast to the traditions of his *silsilah*. He attached himself to Malik Nizam-u'd-din *Kharitahdar* who constructed a *khanqah* for him and undertook to bear all its expenses. Not long afterwards, the *Kharitahdar* was thrown into prison on a charge of malversation. This created financial crisis in the *khanqah* of Shaikh Badr-u'd-din and in great distress he wrote to Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar soliciting his spiritual help in the matter. Shaikh Farid expressed his disapproval of the ways of Shaikh Badr-u'd-din and charged him of deviating from the path of the Chishti saints.⁴

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 55; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 31.

2. For brief biographical accounts, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 164-166; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 187-188, 88; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 50-51; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 50; *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS); *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt*, (MS).

3. For a detailed account of his life and teachings see, Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 79; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 188.

Shaikh Farid's criticism apart, Shaikh Badr-u'd-din commanded great respect in the mystic circles of Delhi. He was a poet¹ and preacher² of great eminence. But he could not make any appreciable contribution to the expansion of the *silsilah*. He was sadly mistaken in his calculations if he thought that a *khanqah* run on the basis of guaranteed payments could serve the spiritual needs of the people. Mystic records refer to only one of his disciples—Shaikh Imam-u'd-din Abdal.³

The most outstanding figure of the Chishti *silsilah* during the thirteenth century was, however, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265). He gave to the Chishti *silsilah* the momentum of an organized spiritual movement.

Born in a *qazi* family of Kahtwal (near Multan), Shaikh Farid was drawn towards mysticism very early in his life. It was in a *madrasah* attached to a mosque in Multan that he first met Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki and got himself initiated into the Chishti discipline. After completing his study of the External Sciences (*'ulum-i-zahiri*), he turned to spiritual practices and penitences. "All the Shaikhs of India", remarks Muhammad Ghausi, "are unanimous in declaring that no saint has excelled *Ganj-i-Shakar* in his devotions and penitences⁴." He was probably the first and the last Indo-Muslim saint who performed the *Chillah-i-Ma'kus*⁵, one of the most hazardous of spiritual exercises. After completing his course of mystic discipline at the feet of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din, he settled at Hansi, an ancient town in the Hisar district. Later on he moved to Ajodhan. It was in that neglected and out-of-the-way town that he came into the full gaze of history and spiritually starved people turned to him from every part of the country. The following two incidents, as recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi, on the authority of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, give some idea of his popularity:

(i) When Shaikh Farid visited Delhi after the death of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, he was deluged by visitors. From early morning till late into the night he had to attend to his visitors and accept their invitations for feasts. On Fridays he had to start for congregational prayer much before the scheduled time because of the large crowds of admirers who waited for him all along the way. As he stepped out of his house, people eagerly rushed towards him, kissed his hands and encircled him. No sooner

1. Amir Khurd has referred to his *diwan*. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 165). It is extinct now.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 192.

3. For brief biographical account of Shaikh Imam-u'd-din Abdal, see: *Risalah Hal Khanwadah-i-Chisht* (MS), *Rauzah-i-Aqtab*, pp. 82-83.

Maulana Taj-u'd-din, the author of *Risalah Hal Khanwadah-i-Chisht*, was a spiritual descendant of Shaikh Imam-u'd-din Abdal. His spiritual mentor, Maulana 'Imad-u'd-din, was a *khalifah* of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din 'Ashiq who was the son and successor of Shaikh Imam-u'd-din Abdal.

4. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS).

5. See note *supra*.

did he manage to come out of this circle that he found himself surrounded by another group. He got rid of one circle to be enmeshed into another and this process went on until he reached the mosque, tired and wearied. One day he felt annoyed with the people who had thus surrounded him on his way to the mosque. "This is a blessing of God," a disciple told him, "why do you get annoyed?"¹

(ii) In the month of *Shawwal* 651 A.H./1252 A.D. Sultan Nasir-u'd-din marched towards Uchch and Multan. In the way his soldiers decided to pay their respects to Shaikh Farid. When the soldiers flocked to the city all the streets and bazars of Ajodhan were blocked. It was impossible to shake hands and bless personally every one of these soldiers. A sleeve of Baba Farid's shirt was hung on a thoroughfare so that people might touch and go. As the crowd moved, the sleeve was torn to pieces. The Shaikh himself was so painfully mobbed that he requested his disciples to encircle him in order to save his person from the eager public trying to elbow its way to him.²

Shaikh Farid trained and tutored a very large number of disciples who, later on, set up independent *khanqahs* and disseminated the teachings of the Chishti *silsilah*. Later mystic *tazkirahs* give legendary figures of his *khalifahs*³. Mir Khurd, however, refers only to the following seven *khalifahs* of the Shaikh:

1. Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi
2. Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil
3. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishaq
4. Shaikh 'Ali Sabir
5. Shaikh 'Arif
6. Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Safahani
7. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.

Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din was one of the most cherished disciples of Shaikh Farid who used to say: "Jamal is our *jamal* (beauty)."⁴ Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya once offered to exchange all his disciples for him but Shaikh Farid replied that any such transaction was possible regarding *mal* (property), but not in case of *jamal* (beauty)⁵. When Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din joined the discipline of Shaikh Farid he was the *khatib* of Hansi. At the instance of his Shaikh, he resigned his post and severed all ties with the government of the day. As one who had seen better days, the pangs of starvation proved too severe for him and, on one occasion, he requested Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya to inform Shaikh Farid about his miserable circumstances.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 145-146.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 145.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 175. Mu'in-u'd-din 'Abdullah (*Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* MS, Vol. I, p. 267), makes very curious statements in connection with the *khalifahs* of Shaikh Farid. He says that Shaikh Farid had 10,000 *khalifahs* on the earth, 18,000 in the sea, 400 in the air, 400 on the sky and 400 on the *Kuh-i-Qaf*. The whole account is saturated with superstition and is incredible for our purposes.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 178.

5. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS).

Shaikh Farid, however, remarked¹:

او را بگوئی چون ولایت به کسی داده شود او را واجب است استمالت

(Tell him that when a *wilayat*—spiritual territory—is assigned to anyone, it is his duty to bear its burden).

Shaikh Jamal was a man of great learning. His two works—a Persian *diwan*, and an Arabic treatise, *Mulhamat*—bear testimony to his scholarship.

Shaikh Jamal died during the life-time of his master. His maid-servant, known as Umm-u'l-Muminin, took Maulana Burhan-u'd-din, son of Shaikh Jamal,² to the great Shaikh. Maulana Burhan was a boy of tender age at that time, but, regardless of this fact, the Shaikh conferred his *khilafat-namah*³ on him and instructed him to benefit from the company of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din at Delhi. The maid-servant, who was taken by surprise at this generosity of the Shaikh, submitted: '*Khwaja Burhan-u'd-din bala hai*' (Khwaja Burhan-u'd-din is a (mere) child.) Shaikh Farid promptly replied: '*Ponun ka chand bhi bala huta hai*' (The crescent is also small.)⁴.

Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din, however, did not enrol any disciples. "It is not meant for me", he used to say, "to enrol anyone as my disciple when Hazrat Nizam-u'd-din Muhammad is there⁵." Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Munawwar⁶, a distinguished disciple and *khalifah* of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, was his son.

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 180.

2. Shaikh Jamal had two sons. The elder one was a *majzub* but, sometimes, he recovered his consciousness and spoke very wisely. Once he told Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya: 'Knowledge is a great veil.' When asked to explain what he meant, he said: 'Knowledge is distinct from truth and whatever is distinct from truth is a veil.' *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 184.

For a detailed account of the descendants of Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din, see *Siraj-u'n-Nasab*, by Muhammad Siraj-u'l-Haqq (Published in 1313 A.H. Printed at Zia-u'l-Islam Press, Qadiyan).

3. Shaikh Farid also bestowed upon him the prayer carpet and the staff which Shaikh Jamal had left and remarked: "You have the same authority from me as your father had." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 182-183.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 183.

5. He had very great respect for Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. Every time that he visited Delhi, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din ordered a cot to be placed for him in his *jama'at khanah* but Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din, out of respect for the Shaikh, never slept on it. It is said that whenever he went to see the Shaikh he changed his clothes and perfumed himself. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 183-184.

6. He was one of those three contemporary saints of Muhammad bin Tughluq—Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh and Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Yahya being the other two—who kept alive the traditions of the Chishti *silsilah* at a very critical moment in its history and refused to subordinate themselves to the dictates of the Sultan. For biographical details, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 247-253. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 'Afif, pp. 423-424; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 87-88; *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, MS, pp. 641-643; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* MS, *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* MS, Vol. I, pp. 298-303; *Matlub-u'l-Talibin*, MS, f. 119 a.

Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil¹ was the youngest brother of Shaikh Farid. He came to Delhi to complete his education, but, eventually, he decided to settle there permanently. "For seventy years", Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once informed his audience, "Shaikh Najib-u'd-din lived in the city. He had neither property nor pension. He lived resigned to the will of God along with his family and passed his days happily. I have not seen anyone like him in the city²." Shaikh Farid had granted his *khilafat* to him but we have no record of his disciples. He died a few months before Shaikh Farid and was buried outside the city, near the *Darwazah-i-Mandah*³.

Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq⁴, another distinguished *khalifah* of Shaikh Farid, was an eminent scholar of Delhi. He used to perform the duties of personal service to the Shaikh and was in charge of the general supervision of his *jama'at khanah*. Besides, it was his duty to draft certificates of *khilafat*. He did not enrol any disciple during the life-time of his Shaikh, except the *muqta'* of Dipalpur, Malik Sharaf-u'd-din Kubra, about whom the Shaikh had instructed him to admit into his discipline.⁵

Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq wrote a scholarly book on Arabic grammar—*Tasrif-i-Badari*⁶—which has not survived.

Shaikh Farid had married his daughter, Bibi Fatimah, to him. After the Shaikh's death, he shifted to the Juma' Masjid of Ajodhan and began to teach *Quran* to boys of tender age. He was so deeply attached to his master that he did not long survive him. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, who was much indebted to him, called his family to Delhi and took personal interest in the training and education of his sons⁷.

Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din 'Ali b. Ahmad Sabir⁸, the founder of the Sabiri branch of the Chishti *silsilah*, is said to have been a prominent disciple of

1. For brief biographical notices, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 14-15, 28, 78-79; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 75-76, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 97-101; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 59-60; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS); *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar*, (MS); *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* (MS).

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 167.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 169.

4. For brief biographical notices, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 59-74 etc.; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 162-178; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 116-130, 137, 224; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 42, 85 etc.; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 66-67; *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS); *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt*, Vol. I, (MS).

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 175.

6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 173.

7. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 171-172.

8. For brief biographical notices, see *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 69; *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, pp. 177-184; *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS) Vol. I, p. 263-264.

Shaikh Farid. It is most unfortunate that no early account of this great saint is available. No contemporary, or even semi--contemporary, historian or *tazkirah* writer has referred to him. Literature about him becomes profuse from the time of Shah Jahan when the author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab* wrote about him and the circumstances that led to the discovery of his grave in Kalyar, many years after his death¹. The Sabiri *silsilah*, however, came into the full light of history when Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd-u'l-Haqq² (ob. 837 A.H./1433 A.D.) established a great mystic centre at Rudauli (in the Barabanki district) and began to propagate the teachings of the *silsilah*.

Very brief and casual accounts of Shaikh 'Arif and Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Safahani are found in the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*.

The most outstanding *khalifah* of Shaikh Farid was Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya³. It was under him that the Chishti *silsilah* reached its highest watermark⁴. For nearly half a century he lived and worked in Delhi. All sorts of men, says Barani, visited him and found spiritual solace in his company⁵. Almost all the spiritual descendants of the disciples of Shaikh Farid, as well as Shaikh Farid's own descendants, accepted him as their spiritual leader⁶.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din left for Ajodhan suddenly, without any previous preparation⁷. He met Shaikh Farid on a Wednesday in 655 A.H.⁸/1257 A.D. The aging Shaikh discerned in him a true successor to himself, to Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki and, in fact, to all the great Chishti mystics of the past and welcomed him with the couplet:

ای آتش فراق دله کباب کرده
سیلاب اشتیاق جانها خراب کرده

1. *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 183. Kalyar is near Roorkee in the Saharanpur District of the Uttar Pradesh.

2. For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Aqtab*, pp. 215-222; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 182-184; *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS), p. 917 et seq.

3. For his life and teachings, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, *Jawami'-u'l-Kilam* and *Durar-i-Nizamiyah* (MS). See also, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 59-91; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 54-59. *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS) 581; *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* (MS), Vol. I; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS); *Matub-u't-Talibin* MS; *A'in-i-Akbari*, ii pp. 208-209; *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Vol. II, pp. 301-398; *Shajarat-u'l-Anwar* (MS); *Iqtibas-u'l-Anwar* (MS), ff 182a-186b; *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 452-53.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 363.

5. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 208.

6. e. g. Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Munawwar, Shaikh Kabir-u'd-din, Khwaja 'Aziz-u'd-din, Khwaja Muhammad, Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din.

7. See *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, p. 452; Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din spends a whole night in the Juma' Masjid of Delhi; in the morning he hears a *mu'azzin* recite the following verse; "Has the time not come for the true believers that their hearts may tremble at the remembrance of the Lord." (*Quran* s. 57: 16) and decides to proceed to Ajodhan and lay his head at the feet of Shaikh Farid.

8. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 106.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din excitedly struggled within himself to give expression to his own eagerness to see him, but his nerves failed him and he began to tremble. With great difficulty he told the saint:

اشتیاق یائوس عظیم غالب بوده است

(I had strong desire to meet you).

"Every new comer is nervous¹," remarked Shaikh Farid and admitted him into his discipline.

"Should I give up my studies and devote exclusively to supererogatory prayers, *aurad* and *waza'if*?", Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din asked his master after initiation. "I never ask any one to discontinue his studies," replied Shaikh Farid, "Carry on both of them, and (finally) whichever gets the upper hand, devote yourself to that. Some knowledge is also necessary for a *dervish*²."

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din visited Ajodhan three times during the lifetime of the great Shaikh³. During his second visit, he studied with him six chapters of the *Quran*, five chapters of the '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* and two other books⁴. In Jamadi I, 664 A.H./1265 A.D., Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din visited his master for the last time. The Shaikh showered many blessings on him and said: "I have given you both the worlds. Go and take the kingdom of Hindustan⁵."

On Ramazan 13, 664 A.H./1265 A.D., Shaikh Farid granted his *khilafat namah* to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and instructed him to devote his life to the propagation of the Chishti mystic principles. Barani has given us a detailed account of the popularity and influence of the Shaikh. He writes: "Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din had opened wide the doors of his discipleship...and admitted (all sorts of people into his discipline) nobles and plebians, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, citizens and villagers, soldiers and warriors, free-men and slaves⁶ and these people refrained from many improper things, because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaikh; if any of the disciples committed a sin, he confessed it (before the Shaikh) and vowed allegiance anew. The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer; men and women,

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 30. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 107.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 42.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 163, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 106.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 131-132.

6. For the Shaikh's explanation for admitting all sorts of people into his discipleship, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 346-348, where the author gives a long extract from Zia-u'd-din Barani's *Hasrat Namah* which is extinct.

young and old, shop-keepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers. Most of them who visited the Shaikh frequently, offered their *Chasht*¹ and *Ishraq* prayers regularly. Many platforms, with thatched roofs over them, were constructed on the way from the city to Ghiyaspur; wells were dug, water-vessels were kept, carpets were spread, and a servant and a *hafiz* was stationed at every platform so that the people going to the Shaikh may have no difficulty in saying their supererogatory prayers. Due to regard for the Shaikh's discipleship all talk of sinful acts had disappeared from the people. There were no topics of conversation among most people except inquiries about the prayers of *Chasht*, *Awabin* and *Tahajjud*. How many genuflections (*rak'ats*) they contained? What *Surah* of the *Quran* to recite in each *rak'at*? What invocations (*du'a*) are to follow each prayer? How many *rak'ats* does the Shaikh say every night; and what part of the *Quran* in every *rak'at* and what *daruds* (blessing on the Prophet)? What was the custom of Shaikh Farid and Shaikh Bakhtiyar? Such were the questions which the new disciples asked from the old. They inquired about fasting and prayer and about reducing their diet. Many persons took to committing the *Quran* to memory. The new disciples of the Shaikh were entrusted to the old. And the older disciples had no other occupation but prayer and worship, aloofness from the world, the study of books on devotion and the lives of saints. And God forbid that they should ever talk or hear about the worldly affairs or turn towards the house of worldly men, for such things they considered to be entirely sinful and wrong. Interest in supererogatory prayers alone had developed to such an extent that at the Sultan's court many amirs, clerks, guards, and royal slaves had become the Shaikh's disciples. They said their *Chasht* and *Ishraq* prayers and fasted on the 13th, 14th and 15th of every lunar month (*Ayyam-i-Biz*) as well as during the first ten days of *Zil Hijjah*. There was no quarter of the city in which a gathering of the pious was not held every month or after every twenty days with mystic songs that moved them to tears. Many disciples of the Shaikh finished the *tarawih*² prayers in their houses or in the mosques. Those with greater perseverance passed the whole night standing in their prayers throughout the month of Ramazan, on Fridays and during the days of the Hajj. The higher disciples stood in the prayers for a third or three-fourths of the night throughout the years, while others said their morning prayers

1. In addition to the five compulsory (*farz*) prayers—*Fajr*, *Zuhr*, *Asr*, *Maghrib* and *Isha*—there are five recommended (*sunnat*) prayers (i) *Ishraq*, offered after sunrise; (ii) *Chasht*, offered at forenoon; (iii) *Zawal*, offered after mid-day; (iv) *Awabin*, offered at twilight and (v) *Tahajjud*, offered between mid-night and early dawn.

2. The prayers of usually twenty *rak'ats*, recited at night during the month of Ramazan.

with the ablution of their 'Isha prayer. Some of the disciples had, by now, reached to eminence in spiritual power through this education.

"Owing to the influence of the Shaikh, most of the Mussalmans of this country developed interest in mysticism, prayers and aloofness from the world, and came to have a faith in the Shaikh. The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling and other forbidden things never came to any one's lips. Sins and abominable vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity. Out of regard for one another the Mussalmans refrained from open usury and regrating (*ihlikar*), while the shop-keepers, from fear, gave up speaking lies, using false weights and deceiving the ignorant. Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the Shaikh's company, applied themselves to books on devotion and mysticism. The books *Qut-u'l-Qulub*¹, *Ihya-u'l-'Ulum*² and its translation³, 'Awarif⁴, *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*⁵, *Shrah-i-Ta'arruf*⁶, *Risalah-i-Qushairi*⁷, *Marsad-u'l-'Ibad*⁸, *Maktubat-i-'Ain-u'l-Quzzat*⁹ and the *Lawa'ih* and *Lawama* 'of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri¹⁰ found many purchasers, as also did the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* of Amir Hasan owing to the sayings of the Shaikh which it contains. People asked the booksellers about books of devotion. No handkerchief was seen without a tooth brush (*miswak*) or a comb tied to it. Owing to the great number of purchasers, the price of water and leathern vessels became high. In short, God had created the Shaikh as a peer of Shaikh Junaid¹¹ and Shaikh Bayazid¹² in these later days

1. Written by Maulana Abu Talib Macci (ob. 996 A.D.) published from Cairo in 2 volumes in 1310 A.H./1892 A.D.

2. Written by Imam Ghazzali (ob. 1111 A.D.) published from Cairo in 1311 A.H./1893 A.D.

3. i.e. *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat* (Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1324 A.H./1907 A.D.).

4. Written by Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi (ob. 1234 A.D.) first published in Cairo on the margin of *Ihya* of Imam Ghazzali.

5. Written by Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri (ob. after 1074 A.D.), Persian text (*Gulzar-i-Hind*, Steam Press, Lahore); English translation by R. A. Nicholson (Luzac 1936).

6. *Kitab-i-Ta'arruf* was written by Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Ibrahim Bukhari (ob. 999 A.D.).

It is one of the classics on Islamic mysticism. The author of *Kashf-u'z-Zunun* quotes a saying of the mystics about this book: "One who does not know *Ta'arruf*, does not understand mysticism."

7. Written by Abu'l Qasim 'Abdu'l Karim Qushairi (ob. 1072 A.D.) in 1046 A.D. Published from Cairo in 1346 A.H./1927 A.D.

8. Written by Najm-u'd-din Razi in 1123 A.D.

9. 'Ain-u'l-Quzzat Hamadani (ob. 1130 A.D.).

10. See *Infra*.

11. Abu'l Qasim B. Muhammad b. Junaid (ob. 910 A.D.) See *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* (Tr) pp. 128-130.

12. Bayazid Taifur Bistami (ob. 875 A.D.). See *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* (Tr.) p. 106 et seq.

and adorned him with that divine love which cannot be understood by human wisdom. The virtues of a Shaikh—and the art of leading men (in the mystic path)—found their fulfilment and their final consummation in him.

ذین فن مطلب نامی
گان ختم شد است بر نظامی

(Do not try to obtain eminence in this art, for it has come to an end with Nizami.)”¹.

Personal and family life of the Chishti saints

Most of the Chishti saints lived under conditions of appalling poverty. They looked down upon possession of private property as a serious impediment to the growth of one’s spiritual personality. Shaikh Mu’in-u’d-din and Shaikh Qutb-u’d-din Bakhtiyar never owned houses of their own. Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar built a small *kuchcha* house² only when his family had considerably increased during the later years of his life. He, however, firmly turned down the offer of a disciple to rebuild this house with baked bricks. “Mas’ud will not put brick on brick”, he told his disciple³. Shaikh Farid’s younger brother, Shaikh Najib-u’d-din Mutawakkil, lived in Delhi, with his wife and two sons, in a house which consisted of a single small room. It was under a broken *chappar* (thatched roof) over this room that he entertained his visitors⁴. For many years during his early life Shaikh Nizam-u’d-din Auliya had to wander from one quarter of the city to another in search of a roof to hide his head⁵. It was towards the end of Balban’s reign that he settled at Ghiyaspur and built a house for himself because without it he could not have the peace of mind necessary for fulfilling his mystic mission. Thus a small *kuchcha* house was the only exception which the Chishti mystics made to their interdict against possession of private property. Shaikh Nasir-u’d-din Chiragh, however, did not like even this exception⁶.

Generally starvation conditions prevailed in the houses of the Chishti saints. They subsisted mostly on *futuh* (unasked for charity). Shaikh Hamid-u’d-din Nagauri was probably the only Chishti saint of the 13th century who adopted cultivation in preference to *futuh*. Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar was forced by his circumstances to permit his disciples to

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 343-347.

2. When Shaikh Farid died, a door of this house was pulled down to provide unbaked bricks for his grave. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 212.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 90.

4. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 75.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 108-111.

6. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 233.

circulate *zanbil* (a bowl made of dried and hollow gourd) and collect food¹. No Chishti saint before him had permitted such a practice. In fact, even incurring of debts for household expenses was considered unbecoming of a mystic. Shaikh Farid had once declared: "The dervishes prefer dying of starvation to incurring any debt for the satisfaction of their (baser) desires. Debt and Resignation are poles apart and cannot subsist together²".

When Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar settled in Delhi, his household, including his wife, children and servants, consisted of nine souls in all³. When reduced to extremes, he borrowed money upto three hundred *dirhams* from a grocer (*baqqal*) who lived in his neighbourhood⁴. His spiritual mentor had permitted him to borrow money upto 500 *dirhams*, but he instructed his grocer-friend not to lend him more than 300 *dirhams*⁵. Later on the Shaikh decided to starve rather than incur any debts⁶. Following the same traditions, Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar and his brother, Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil, quietly suffered the pangs of starvation but never borrowed anything from anybody. There were times when some *futuh* came to Shaikh Farid, but generally the atmosphere of his household remained one of starvation. In the closing years of his life, he was in extremely difficult circumstances and the door of *futuh* seemed to have been closed upon him. Almost the same was the condition of Shaikh Najib. Once some *qalandars* came to greet him on an 'Eid day. Shaikh Najib had nothing to entertain them. Only by selling some article of the household he could buy food for his guests. He looked at his wife's *daman*; it was torn and patched and could fetch no price. He glanced at his prayer-carpet; it was no better. Failing to provide anything for the visitors, he offered cold water to them⁷. When Bibi Fatimah, a pious and saintly lady of Delhi, came to know of the starving conditions of Shaikh Najib's household, she helped the family off and on⁸.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya also passed his early years under the same distressing circumstances. "In the days of Ghiyas-u'd-din Balban,"

1. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 150; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 62.

3. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 24.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 48.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 48-49.

6. Jamali says that one day, during the course of their conversation, the grocer's wife told the wife of the Shaikh: 'But for us you would have died of starvation.' The Shaikh and his wife were deeply pained at this remark and they decided not to borrow anything in future from the grocer. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 25-26.

7. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 75.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 245; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 101-102.

he used to say in his later years, "melons were sold at the rate of two *jital* per maund, but once nearly the whole season passed away without my being able to taste a slice. On one occasion I had to go without food for a night and a day, and half the second night had passed before I got anything to eat; two seers of bread could be had for a *jital*, but from sheer poverty I was unable to purchase anything in the market. My mother, sister and other persons in my house suffered along with me. Though at times visitors brought some sugar or pieces of good cloth to me, I did not sell them to purchase food and sat resigned to my fate. On one occasion we had starved for three days when a man knocked at my door with a bowl of *khichri*. I have never found anything so delicious as that plain *khichri* appeared to me then. 'We are the guests of God today', my mother used to say when we had no food left in the house¹."

The Chishti saints considered fasting to be "a remarkable expedient for weakening those desires that lead never to happiness but either to disillusionment or to further desire". They reduced their diet in order to control the calls of the flesh. A glass of *sherbet*, some dried grapes (*munaqqa*) and a piece of *juwar* (millet) bread smeared with *ghee* was all that Shaikh Farid took in twenty-four hours². Similarly Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din took only a piece of bread or half a bread with little vegetable at the time of *iftar* (breaking the fast), and very little food at dinner. One day 'Abdur Rahim, who prepared *sahri*³ for the Shaikh, protested: "The Shaikh eats very little at *sahri* also, it will injure his health and make him very weak." The Shaikh replied with tears in his eyes: "So many poverty-stricken people are sleeping without dinner in the corners of the mosques and before the shops. How can this food go down my throat?⁴"

Very often these saints did not possess sufficient clothes to cover their bodies⁵. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din wrapped himself in a patched *do-tahi* (two-ply cloth)⁶. Shaikh Farid felt great spiritual pleasure in his grimy and tattered clothes⁷. When Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya reached Ajodhan, his clothes were so grimy that Bibi Rani, a pious and devoted lady at the *jama'at khanah* of Shaikh Farid, gave him a *chadar* with which he covered his body and then she washed his clothes and patched them⁸.

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 113. *Khichri* is rice boiled with lentil.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 51. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 65, 386; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 51.

3. The meal which is taken before the dawn of day to enable one to fast till sunset.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 128.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 62-63.

6. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 7.

7. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 51.

8. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 115.

It is said that Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar never used any bedding¹. Shaikh Farid had a blanket (*galim*) on which he used to sit during the day. It was spread out on a loosely woven cot at bed-time, but it was so small that it did not cover the whole cot. A rug (*shuqqah*) was placed at the end of the cot. If the Shaikh covered his body with it, the end of the cot remained without any cover. The Shaikh had no pillow; instead, he put his staff (*asa'*) under his head².

With the exception of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya³, all the early Chishti mystics led a married life. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din married in his old age⁴ only to realize that his spiritual powers had seriously suffered on that account. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* says that one day he asked Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri:

,,حمید! چیست این که هرگاه مارا در جوانی که مجرد بوده ایم حاجتی بشدی 'دعا میکردیم در حال اجابت شدی' و این ساعت که پیر شدیم و فرزندان آمدند 'هرگاه که حاجتی می شود بسیار می باید و دعا هم کرده شود و لیکن بعد از دیر تیر باجابت می رسد و حاجت برآ می آید' این حکمت چیست؟"

(Hamid! How is it that in my youth when I was a bachelor, whenever I had a need, I prayed for it and it was granted forthwith. Now that I have grown old and have begotten sons, whenever there is a need, however pressing it may be, and I pray for it, it is granted only belatedly. What is the mystery behind it?)

Shaikh Hamid replied:

ده یا شیخ! شما را بهتر روشن است از قصهٔ مریم، در آن وقت که مجرد بود بی خواست او میوهٔ زمستانی بتابستان می رسید و میوهٔ تابستانی بزمستان می آمد که دلش به خدا یکتا بود، چون عیسی علیه السلام بزان مریم علیهما السلام منتظر بود که هم چنان خواهد رسید، فرمان آمد: ⁵وهزی الیک بجذع النخلة"

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 49.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 51-52 *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 65; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 51.

3. His chief disciple at Delhi, Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh, also did not marry, but his life and activities do not count for the period under review. It may, however, be pointed out here that though Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh did not marry, they looked after their nephews and nieces with almost paternal concern and care. For Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's views about marriage, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 156-157.

4. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* says that he was 90 when he reached Ajmer (p. 18) and was a celibate till then. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq says that the Prophet had asked him in a dream not to ignore his *sunnat* of leading a married life. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 113.

5. *Quran* S. XIX: 25.

(O Shaikh! This may be clearer to you from the story of Mary. When she was a maiden, she used to receive winter fruits in summer and summer fruits in winter, without her asking for them, for her heart was exclusively devoted to God. When Christ (peace be upon him) was born, Mary expected to receive (the fruits) as usual. But she was told: "*And shake towards thyself the trunk of the palm-tree.*")¹

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq says that a Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din took two wives—Ummat-ullah and 'Asmatullah. The first was the daughter of a Hindu raja; the second was the daughter of Sayyid Wajih-u'd-din Meshedi, uncle of Sayyid Husain Meshedi². The Shaikh had three sons—Shaikh Abu Sa'id, Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-din and Shaikh Husam-u'd-din—and one daughter—Bibi Jamal—from these wives³. Bibi Jamal had strong mystic leanings but his sons were not inclined towards mysticism. Nothing is known about Abu Sa'id; Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-din took to farming at Mandal, near Ajmer; while Husam-u'd-din disappeared mysteriously. None of them seems to have made any contribution towards the expansion of the *silsilah*⁴. On the contrary, once they obliged their aged father to part with the traditions of his *silsilah*. It was due to the pressure exercised by his sons that he came to Delhi in order to obtain a *muqarrar dasht* from the Sultan permitting them to cultivate some fallow land near Ajmer⁵.

Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar also married late in life and probably married twice. He divorced one of his wives, soon after marriage, as her presence had upset his daily programme of prayers⁶. He had two twin-born sons⁷. One of them died in infancy. The Shaikh was so deeply engrossed in his mystic contemplation that he did not know about his ailment. When he heard cries and laments rising from his house, he asked people as to what had happened. When he came to know that his son had expired, he said woefully: "Had I been aware of his illness, I would have prayed to God for his recovery"⁸. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya informs us that the

1. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 18.

2. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 112-113.

3. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 113.

4. Khwaja Wahid-u'd-din, a grandson of Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din, came to Ajodhan and requested Shaikh Farid to enrol him among his disciples. The saint apologetically said: "I have picked up the crumble of your family as a beggar. It would be against my sense of respect to extend my hand to you as a *pir*." But Khwaja Wahid insisted and the Shaikh had no alternative but to admit him into his discipline. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 238.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 53.

6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 50.

7. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 61.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 61-62; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 49.

surviving son of the Shaikh was not worthy of his father and did not follow his footsteps¹.

Shaikh Farid had a number of wives and a big family. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh is reported to have stated on the authority of his master that Shaikh Farid-u'd-din had many wives (حرم بسیار بود)². The Shaikh treated them all justly and equitably so far as marital relationship was concerned³, but to provide for this large family was always a problem for him, particularly in the closing years of his life when no *futuh* came to him. Very often his family had to starve. The maid servant would come and report: "Khwaja! This son of yours has starved for two days", or "This wife of yours has starved for two days." But these reports, Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh tells us, were like a passing wind for him⁴.

One day a wife of the Shaikh told him: "Khwaja! Today my son is about to expire from starvation." The Shaikh raised his head and said: "What has poor Mas'ud to do in this matter? If Fate has so decreed and he dies, tie a rope round his feet and throw him out and come back."⁵

Even a cursory glance at the household atmosphere of these early Chishti saints would reveal the painful fact that, with the exception of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, no saint gave sufficient care to the upbringing of his children. They were always so absorbed in their mystic contemplation and so busy in attending to the problems of the people, that they knew neither about the illness of their children nor about the starving conditions of their own household. Thus deprived of that fatherly control and care which alone can guarantee proper training of children, most of the sons and dependants of the Chishti saints turned out to be worldly people, unworthy of the traditions of the *silsilah*. No son of an early Chishti saint of India was mentally or spiritually in a position to keep the torch of his father burning. If the only son of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar was "unworthy of his father,"⁶ a grandson of Shaikh Farid was a drunkard⁷ and a grandson of Shaikh Najib-u'd-din was a vagabond. (مرد لاوبالی)⁸. They possessed

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 61.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 66.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194.

4. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 89; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 66-67.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 67; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 52.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 61.

7. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 147-148.

8. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 106.

worldly wisdom¹, but were devoid of all spiritual integrity². The way in which Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishaq was treated by the sons of Shaikh Farid³ shows that they were guided more by material and mundane considerations than by any high moral or spiritual ideal. This was probably due to the indifferent family atmosphere in which they were brought up.

The Chishti Khanqahs

A Chishti *khanqah* usually consisted of a big hall (*jama'at khanah*) where all the inmates lived a community life. The roof of this *jama'at khanah* was supported by a number of pillars and at the foot of each of these pillars a mystic could be seen with all his belongings—bedding, books and rosary. They all slept, prayed and studied on the ground and no discrimination, not even on the basis of seniority or piety, was permitted to prevail in the *jama'at khanah*. If food was available, all would partake of it; if not, all would suffer jointly the pangs of hunger. In the *jama'at khanah* of Shaikh Farid, the inmates had to pluck *pelu* and *delah*⁴ from the *kareel* trees, fetch water, collect wood from the jungle, and then a saltless dish could be prepared for them⁵. The entire household rejoiced when the efforts of these people succeeded in providing a square meal for the inmates of the *jama'at khanah*⁶. But other Chishti saints, who received large amounts of unasked for charity, provided better meals for the inmates and visitors of their *khanqahs*. An open kitchen (*langar*), consequently, became a regular feature of *khanqah* life in medieval India⁷. The Chishtis quoted the following *hadis* in favour of their practice: “If someone visits a living man and gets

1. One very interesting instance of this worldly wisdom was the suggestion of Shaikh Farid's son, Nizam-u'd-din, to bury the Shaikh in his own house. When Shaikh Farid died, his descendants decided to bury him in a graveyard, outside the city, where the Shaikh used to spend much of his time in prayers and meditation. Nizam-u'd-din dissuaded his brothers from burying the saint outside the city. “If the Shaikh is buried outside the city walls,” he told his brothers and relatives, “people would come there, pray at the tomb and depart. Who will take notice of the Shaikh's family?”—*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 89-91.

2. See *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (pp. 121-122) for the way in which the sons of Shaikh Farid quarrelled with Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani for mentioning Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's name in the last moments of Shaikh Farid.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 171-172.

4. Wild fruits of thorny plants found in the Punjab and used as food.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 74; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 138-150, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 86, 209.

6. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once said about the *khanqah* of his master:

در آن شب که قیل درخانه شیخ سیدرمی خوردیم مارا روز عید بودی
Khair-u'l-Majalis, p. 150.

7. The tradition of an open kitchen (*langar*) among the Indian Chishti saints was probably established by Shaikh Farid. We do not hear about any *langar* in the hospice of Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din, while it is explicitly mentioned about Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar that کتسه و کلدوری نداشت (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 48). Shaikh Farid's *langar*

nothing from him to eat; it is as if he had visited the dead¹". A Chishti mystic would sell his wife's *chadar* or his own prayer-carpet but would entertain a visitor to his *khanqah*. If nothing at all was available, he would respectfully offer a bowl of water². The visitors would understand that their host was under extremely straitened circumstances, they would drink water and take leave.

A Shaikh was always the central figure of a *khanqah*³. Round him revolved its entire organisation and from him it derived its hue and colour. It was, therefore, necessary for a Shaikh to follow his daily programme (*zabitah*) meticulously. This programme, however, was not the same for all saints. It differed according to local conditions and personal inclinations and preferences of a saint. Fortunately for us, the medieval records have preserved some details about the daily programme of the two Chishti saints of the period, Shaikh Farid and Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.

- (I) Shaikh Farid's day began very early in the morning. After offering his morning (*fajr*) prayers, he remained in prostration (*sajdah*) for two hours. The doors of his room were closed when he was engaged in prayers and no one could enter it so long as he was busy in his contemplation. After the *zuhr* prayers, the Shaikh received his visitors and never retired unless he had attended to the problem of every visitor. "There can be no pleasure in devotions so long as there remains a single needy person at the door", he used to say. These interviews being over, he again busied himself in prayers and meditation. After *iftar* he would call some elder disciple and ask him about the affairs of the *jama'at khanah* and the happenings of the day.
- (ام روزچه حال بود و چه گذشت)⁴

- (II) In spite of his indifferent health⁵, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya meticulously followed his daily programme. He fasted almost continuously. An hour before dawn, Khwaja 'Abdur Rahim knocked at the door and presented *sahri*⁶. The Shaikh then offered his morning

did not function regularly as very often he had no *futuh* which alone could keep a *langar* going. During his earlier years Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya also did not have a *langar*. His friends and companions very often starved. Later on, when *futuh* came to him, he established a *langar* which distributed free food to people from early morning till late into the night.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 136.
2. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 75.
3. For a detailed discussion of the relation between a Shaikh and his disciples, see *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 166-173.
4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 160.
5. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 257.
6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 128.

(*fajr*) prayers in congregation and then busied himself in meditation. After sunrise, the Shaikh would sit on his prayer-carpet, facing the *qiblah* and visitors would come to him in large numbers. Every visitor would bring some present—cloth, cash or sweets—which was distributed among those present. At about mid-day, the Shaikh retired to a room adjoining the *jama'at khanah* for a short rest but even at this time he was occasionally disturbed¹. After waking up from his mid-day sleep, the Shaikh would again attend to his visitors and after the *zuhr* prayers he would retire to his room on the roof and visitors would be called there and interviews would go on, with a break for the '*asr* prayers, until sunset. At *iftar* time, he left his wooden chamber and came down to the *jama'at khanah*. A piece of bread with a little vegetable was placed before him to break his fast. He ate only part of it and distributed the rest to his audience. He then offered his *maghrib* prayers in congregation and retired to his room on the upper storey where he granted interviews to visitors till the '*isha* prayers. Dinner was served upstairs. The Shaikh then came down to offer '*isha* prayers in congregation and, soon after it, returned to his room to spend some time in devotions. Then he sat down on his cot with a rosary in his hand. No disciple, except Amir Khusrau and some children and relations of the Shaikh, could remain with him at this time. When Amir Khusrau and the children had left, his personal attendant would come, place some vessels in readiness for his ablutions and retire. The Shaikh would then get up and bolt the door. From that time onwards, he was alone, busy in meditation and prayers. The inmates of the *khanqah* saw the Shaikh's light burning throughout the silent hours of the night².

Broadly speaking the inmates of a *khanqah* had to perform two types of duties: personal service to the Shaikh and cooperative management of the *jama'at khanah*. Usually some senior disciple was given over-all charge of the *khanqah* administration and it was his duty to see that every part of the machinery performed its function smoothly. In the *khanqah* of Shaikh Farid, Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq performed this duty of general supervision. He kept an eye on every detail of *khanqah* life, assigned duties to the

1. Once a *dervish* came to the *jama'at khanah* while the Shaikh was having his mid-day rest. Akhi Siraj sent him away. Shaikh Farid appeared to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya in a dream and said: "If you have nothing to give to a visitor, at least treat him cordially." On waking up, the Shaikh reprimanded Akhi Siraj and gave an order that he was to be awakened from his rest if and when a visitor came. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 129.

2. Three books—*Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* of Amir Hasan, *Khair-u'l-Majalis* of Hamid Qalandar and *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* of Amir Khurd—taken collectively shed light on almost every aspect of the Shaikh's life, character and teachings.

inmates, looked after the guests and arranged for the distribution of *futuh*.

Generally, the inmates of a *jama'at khanah* rendered the following personal services to the Shaikh:

(i) *Personal attendance:*

One in personal attendance of the Shaikh had to be available to him at fixed hours. Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq performed this service to Shaikh Farid and Iqbal and Mubashshir to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. How exacting this duty was, may be estimated from the following incident: One day Shaikh Farid called Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq who could not respond immediately as he was lost in his mystic contemplation. The Shaikh was so displeased with him on that count that when the Maulana came to him, he said: "All your previous prayers and devotions have been lost. Busy yourself in your work again."¹

(ii) *Ablutions:*

One whom this duty was assigned had to arrange for the five time ablutions of the Shaikh. Khwaja Ahmad Siwistani had to perform this duty in the *khanqah* of Shaikh Farid.² He was sometimes asked to wash the saint's clothes also. Before washing the clothes of the Shaikh, he himself performed ablution and then touched the clothes. For sometime Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Kirmani had rendered this service to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.³ Later on this duty was assigned to Iqbal⁴.

(iii) *Personal and private affairs:*

Only one Chishti saint of the period, Shaikh Farid, is reported to have appointed a disciple to look after his personal and private affairs. Amir Khurd writes about 'Isa:

در خلوت خدمت کردی و حریمی را که نوبت او بودی بخدمت شیخ
شیوخ العالم فرستادی و نوبت این مشغل نگاهداشتی تا عدل درین کار
مربعی مانده⁵

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 177.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 86.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 108.

The Sayyid is reported to have said:

خدمت خاص از وضو ساز ایستادن و کلونج در مستراح بردن و جز آن و الدمی
فرمود که من می کردم

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 126.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 194.

(He helped the Shaikh even in this private matters. He used to send the Shaikh's wives to him according to their turn. He looked after this affair so that justice may be done (in marital relationship also).

(iv) *Food:*

Since the Chishti saints very often fasted, one of the inmates was assigned the duty of presenting *sahri* and *iftar* to the saint at the fixed hours¹.

(v) *Prayer Carpet:*

To some one of his cherished disciples, the Shaikh entrusted the duty of carrying his *musalla* (prayer-carpet) to the mosque. Khwaja Abu Bakr was assigned this duty by Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and, consequently, he came to be known as Abu Bakr *musalladar*².

Besides these services of a personal nature, the inmates had to share the responsibility of running the *jama'at khanah*. The following was usually the distribution of duties:

(i) *Provision of fuel for the kitchen:*

In the *jama'at khanah* of Shaikh Farid every inmate had, in turn, to perform the duty of collecting wood in the jungle. *Khanqahs* with better resources did not approve of this practice.

(ii) *Kitchen:*

Preparation of food and its proper distribution in the *jama'at khanah* was an important duty and was assigned to a very resourceful and efficient person. How sternly a Shaikh dealt with a person who was found guilty of any act of omission or commission may be estimated from the incident of Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Gharib³.

(iii) *Khilafat Namah:*

Some senior disciple, with high scholarly attainments, was entrusted the most responsible job of drafting the *khilafat namahs*⁴.

(iv) *Ta'wiz:*

Since huge crowds assembled in the *jama'at khanahs* for *ta'wiz* (amulets) and it was not possible for a Shaikh to write out *ta'wiz* personally, some senior disciple had to do this work on his behalf⁵.

1. *Siyar-u'l-Muliya*, pp. 108, 128.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 204-205.

3. See *supra*, p. 61.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 118, 231.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 200.

(v) Guests:

Some disciple had to look after the casual visitors who came to the *jama'at khanah* for brief stay.

Residents of the Khanqahs

If any single place in medieval India could help us in studying the reactions of sensitive souls to the social and economic conditions then prevailing in the country, it was the *jama'at khanah* of the Chishti saints. Here came people disgusted, morose and frustrated; with their personalities torn by inner conflicts (*tafraqa*) and their hearts bleeding at the atrocities of the external world. The mystic teacher not only soothed their excited nerves but integrated their personalities to the highest point of inner harmony (*jama'*). A statistical study of the types of persons who settled in these *jama'at khanahs* reveals the fact that most of them belonged to one or the other of the following categories:

1. Externalist scholars,
2. Government servants, or
3. Businessmen.

The psychological reasons for this are not far to discover. The antimonies of scholastic logic could be resolved from the mystic point only; a *khanqah* alone possessed that spiritual serenity which a government servant, who had to work in an atmosphere of hyper-tension, longed for; the disturbing effects of inordinate lust for wealth and power on the minds of men could be checked by adopting the mystic attitude of *tawakkul* (trust in God) alone. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that these people turned to the dwellings of humble saints and sages in search of peace of mind. The *khanqah* atmosphere reacted differently on different groups. The scholar shed away his intellectual arrogance and concentrated on the development and culture of his emotions; the government servant developed hatred towards worldly power and authority and adopted service of humanity as his ideal of life; the businessman dispensed with all his material goods and sought spiritual satisfaction in living a life of penitence and poverty. The following instances of a scholar, a government servant and a businessman of the thirteenth century would be helpful in understanding the circumstances under which people flocked to these *khanqahs* and took up permanent residence there:

(i) Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq, a resident of Delhi, acquires knowledge at the feet of distinguished scholars of the capital and attains a pre-eminent position amongst the literati of the day. In the course of his studies, some doubts cloud his mind and he goes from scholar to scholar to get them removed, but in vain. At last he packs up his travelling kit and

with a bundle of books starts for Bukhara to discuss his problems with scholars of that historic seat of Muslim learning. While passing through Ajodhan, a friend induces him to pay a visit to Shaikh Farid. Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq meets the Shaikh and is so charmed by his personality that he abandons his journey and settles down permanently in the *jama'at khanah* of the saint¹. Then begins the process of change in his life. All the cobwebs of doubt and intellectual perplexities are brushed aside from his mind. He loses faith in the supremacy of intellect and turns to the culture of his emotions. Uncontrolled ecstasy takes the place of intellectual excitement and perplexity. Tears constantly flow from his eyes. When he bows in *sijdah*, his tears make the prayer-carpet wet². One day the wife of an inmate of *jama'at khanah* asked him: "Brother! If you refrain from weeping for a little while, I will put collyrium in your eyes." "Sister," replied the Maulana, "My tears are not under my control³." On one occasion, he kept on reciting a verse throughout the whole day. Once the Shaikh asked him to lead the prayer. In stead of reciting the *Quran*, the Maulana chanted a Persian verse and fell down unconscious⁴.

It was the *khanqah* of Shaikh Farid which extricated him from the meshes of over-intellectualism and gave a new turn to his personality by developing his emotions.

(ii) Hamid is in the service of Malik Tughril at Lakhnauti. He has seen Tughril living in Delhi as a slave of Sultan Balban. But now, goaded by his ambition, Tughril has rebelled against his master and has proclaimed himself a king with the title of Sultan Mughis-u'd-din. Hamid is standing before him when all of a sudden a figure (*surat*) appears before him and says: "Hamid! Why are you standing before this man?" So saying the figure disappears. Hamid is perplexed. The figure appears to him three times and repeats the same question: "Hamid! Why do you stand before this man?" "Why should I not stand before him? I am his servant; he is my master. He gives me my pay. Why should I not stand before him?", replies Hamid. "You are a scholar," replies the figure, "He is an ignorant man. You are a free man; he is a slave. You are a pious man; he is a sinner!"

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 170.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 171.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 172.

For a discussion of the way in which Shaikh Farid tried to rescue him from these ecstasies and trances also, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 172-177.

Call it a hallucination or interpret it as the rebellion of Hamid's conscience, its appeal was so irresistible that he approached his master with the request: "If there is anything due from me or any accounts are to be settled, please order this to be done. I will not serve you any longer." "What are you saying?" asked Tughril, "Have you gone mad." "No", submitted Hamid, "I will not serve you. The blessing of contentment has been granted to me."

Hamid comes to the *jama'at khanah* of Shaikh Farid and devotes himself to prayers and penitences.¹

(iii) Sayyid Mahmud is a flourishing businessman of Kirman. He was born in a wealthy family with a silver spoon in his mouth. Very often he comes to Lahore in connection with his trade and meets his uncle, Sayyid Ahmad, a mint officer at Multan, whose daughter he has married. Sometimes he visits Ajodhan also and pays his respects to Shaikh Farid. One day he comes to the *jama'at khanah* and finds such spiritual solace in that tumbling hut that he decides to take up permanent residence there. He gives up all his property and prefers a beggar's bowl to the life of affluence and plenty. He turns a deaf ear to the appeals of his father-in-law to engage in some worldly pursuit. His heart is now set on things beyond the material world. He performs all sorts of work in the *jama'at khanah*. When he plucks *pelu* and *delah* his hands get injured, but he finds spiritual pleasure in his work. His wife, Bibi Rani, also lives with him and looks after the comfort of the inmates of the *jama'at khanah* as a sister looks after her brothers².

Casual visitors and their problems

The Chishti *jama'at khanahs* remained open till mid-night. All types of people—scholars, politicians, soldiers, Hindu *jogis*, *qalandars*—visited them. They came with different material and spiritual aims³, and the Shaikh's heart went out in sympathy for them. "No one in the world," Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once told his audience, "has a sadness and sorrow like me. So many people come and tell me about their troubles

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 203; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 54-55.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 207, *et seq.*

3. "Every visitor", Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh once told his audience, "who comes belongs to the group of worldly men or to mystics. If he is a worldly man, his heart is involved in worldly affairs. The moment he enters and my eyes fall on him, I ask him about his condition. Even if he does not say so, all that he has in his heart is revealed to me and I feel depressed and gloomy. Some people come wildly and say, "Be quick and do this." If I don't, they abuse me and behave insolently. A *dervish* should be patient with all." *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 105-106.

and worries. And everything gets impressed upon my heart and soul¹." It was this sympathetic response which made Chishti saints the cynosure of public eyes. Every one in need of sympathy and help turned to the *jama'at khanahs*. Since it was believed that a saint could heal both mental and bodily ailments, many visitors asked for *ta'wiz* (amulets) which were freely distributed. If the overcrowding of visitors ever prevented a saint from paying individual attention to every one, he would earnestly implore: "Come to me one by one, so that I may attend to your problems individually²." The following incidents, selected from the earliest accounts, will give some idea of the nature of problems that people brought to the saints:

- (i) A poet, bearing the *nom-de-plume* of Nasiri, came to Delhi from Transoxiana and alighted at the *khanqah* of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki. "I have written a *qasidah* in praise of Sultan Shams-u'd-din Iltutmish," he told the Shaikh, "please pray for generous reward for me from the Sultan." "God willing", replied the Shaikh, "you will be rewarded bountifully". Nasiri obtained an audience at the court and the Sultan gave him one thousand *tankahs* for each of the couplet of his *qasidah* which comprised 35 couplets. Nasiri brought this amount to the Shaikh and offered half of it for distribution among the poor. The Shaikh did not accept the amount³.
- (ii) A tax-collector, with whom the governor of Ajodhan was extremely displeased, came to Shaikh Farid and requested him to intercede in the matter. The Shaikh sent his servant to the governor with a polite message: "Please forgive this worried tax-collector for the sake of this *dervish*." The Governor turned a deaf ear to the Shaikh's request. The tax-collector again came to the Shaikh, worried and perplexed. "I appealed for you to the governor," the Shaikh told him, "but he has paid no attention to my request. May be, you have also, in your turn, been equally indifferent to the appeals of the unfortunate." The tax-collector expressed his repentance and submitted: "I promise I will not be harsh to any one in future, even if he happens to be my enemy⁴."
- (iii) Shams, a native of Sunnam, came to the *jama'at khanah* of Shaikh Farid and recited a *qasidah* in his praise. "What do you want?" asked the Shaikh as soon as he finished his *qasidah*. "I have to look

1. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 105.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 68.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 212-213; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 28-29.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 147; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 38-39. See also *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, (pp. 226-230) for similar incidents.

after an aged mother and have financial worries", submitted Shams. The Shaikh asked him to bring something for distribution among the needy and the poor. Shams presented 50 *jitals* which were distributed amongst those present. The Shaikh then prayed for his prosperity. Shams got an appointment as *dabir* in the service of Bughra Khan¹.

- (iv) A disciple of Shaikh Farid came to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and said: "I am the father of daughters. Do something for me." "Go and be patient," replied the Shaikh. "Shaikh!", addressed the visitor, "If you had one unmarried daughter, you would have realised my distress." "What do you want me to do?", asked the Shaikh. "Recommend me to some one." The Shaikh recommended him to a grandson of Zafar Khan².
- (v) Muhammad Shah came to Shaikh Farid, excited, worried and trembling. "Why do you look so unhappy?" enquired the Shaikh. "My brother is ill," replied Muhammad Shah, "He may have died since I left him", "Muhammad Shah!" said Shaikh Farid, "As you are at this moment, I have been like that all my life, but I have never expressed it to anyone³."
- (vi) A man came to Shaikh Farid and requested him to do something to remove his misery and poverty. The Shaikh advised him to recite *Surah-i-Juma'* every night⁴.

Training and appointment of Khalifahs

Broadly speaking a mystic teacher had to deal with two types of disciples—those who had made up their minds to consecrate their lives completely to mysticism, and those who joined his discipleship for their spiritual betterment, yet carried on their worldly pursuits. From the second type of his disciples, a Shaikh rarely expected anything more than honest dealings with their fellow men and regular performance of obligatory religious duties. From the higher disciples, however, complete severance of all earthly ties and selfless devotion to the cause of religion was demanded⁵. The Shaikh

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 127.

2. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 87.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 232.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 57.

5. When Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya granted *khilafat* to Khwaja Nuh he advised him thus:

باید که هرچه بر تو رسد، نگاه نداری، و آن را بخرچ رسانی، اگر بر تو چیزی نباشد، هیچ دل خود را نگران نداری که خدا ترا خواهد داد و هیچ یکی را بد نخواهی و از خدا هم یکی را بد نخواهی و جفا را بعطا بدل کنی و دین و ادوار نستانی که درویشی قرار دار و ادوار خوار نباشد" *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 204

was satisfied if a *murid* belonging to the second category regularly paid *zakat-i-shari'at* (one fourth of what he possessed), but a higher disciple had to pay *zakat-i-haqiqat* (all that he possessed)¹. This higher class of disciples consisted of persons whom a Shaikh eventually permitted to enrol disciples and disseminate the teachings of the *silsilah*. An elaborate programme was prepared for the guidance of these disciples in their arduous mystic journey.² The Shaikh often overlooked minor acts of omission and commission by his ordinary disciples, but he was more exacting in the case of higher disciples and kept a vigilant eye on every aspect of their thought and activity.

The Chishti saints took considerable pains in building up healthy and integrated personalities of this higher class of disciples. They exhorted them to develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their being. They cultivated the emotions and tutored the intellects of their disciples. They believed that intellect, uninspired by Love and uncontrolled by faith in moral and spiritual values, acts as a force of disintegration in human life. They familiarised their disciples with the higher religious thought by teaching standard mystic works to them³ and disciplined their inner lives by a careful cultivation and control of their emotions. The Chishti saints did not believe in spinning fine ideas; they expressed in their lives the accumulated wisdom of the mystic creed and thus prepared their disciples both emotionally and intellectually for the difficult task of guiding the destinies of the *silsilah*.

Permission to enrol disciples was given to eminently qualified disciples by means of a written *khilafat namah* or certificate of succession. This document was signed by the Shaikh and, in some cases, it was countersigned by some senior disciple also⁴. The scribe of the document also had to put in his signatures in order to prevent forgery by unscrupulous persons⁵. Indiscriminate grant of *khilafat*, which became a feature of later day mysticism, was strongly disapproved by the early Chishti saints. Shaikh Farid

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103.

2. See, *Adab-u'l-Muridin* of Shaikh Najib-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi and the *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi.

3. Shaikh Farid taught six chapters of the *Quran*, five chapters of the *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* and two other books to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 163; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 106.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 116-117.

5. One day Shaikh Farid asked Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq to prepare a few copies of succession certificates for some of his disciples whom he desired to appoint his *khalifahs*. A disciple who had served the Shaikh long and devotedly but was not considered for *khilafat* remarked in disgust: "If the Shaikh himself does not give me *khilafat*, I can prepare a document like this and busy myself in the work (of enrolling disciples)." The Shaikh was alarmed and he instructed Maulana Badr-u'd-din to put his name also on the document. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 221.

used to say: "The saints bestow their *khilafat* in three ways: First is the *Rahmani* way which is the best and the stablest. There are plenty of blessings and benedictions in it. It is this: God directly puts it into the heart of a Shaikh to give his *khilafat* to a particular person. The second way is that a Shaikh considers a disciple capable and (keeping his qualifications in mind) decides to grant his *khilafat* to him. In it there is a possibility of a Shaikh's opinion being right or wrong. The third way is that a Shaikh grants *khilafat* to a particular person, not of his own accord, but on some one's recommendation or as a matter of grace."¹ While appointing Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya as his successor, Shaikh Farid remarked²:

باری تعالیٰ ترا علم و عقل و عشق دادہ است و هر که که بدین
سه صفت موصوف باشد ازو خلافت مشایخ نیکو آید

(God Almighty has given thee knowledge, wisdom and cosmic emotion and he alone who possesses these three qualities is qualified to discharge the duties of the *khilafat* of saints).

Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Safahani's case is very significant in this connection. He was a prominent figure of Bilgram. He sent a messenger, Shaikh Da'ud, to Shaikh Farid with a request for the grant of a *khilafat namah*. "People pester me for the mystic cap," he said in his message. Shaikh Farid refused to accede to his request. Da'ud stayed on in the *jama'at khanah* and approached some influential disciples of the Shaikh for recommending his case. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and Maulana Shihab-u'd-din interceded on his behalf and pleaded for the grant of *khilafat namah* to Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din. The Shaikh, however, declined and said³:

این کار حق است، بآرزو نیست، هر که قابل باشد نخواسته بهیابد

(This is Divine Work and cannot be assigned to (everyone) who desires it. The qualified one gets it without asking for it.)

The Chishti saints did not approve of the practice of becoming the *murid* of a dead saint by wearing a cap at his grave. Once a son of Shaikh Farid went to the grave of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, shaved his head and declared that he had become a disciple of the great saint. When Baba Farid came to know of it, he declared emphatically⁴:

شیخ قطب الدین خواجه و مخدوم ما است، اما این بیعت درست
نباشد، ارادت و بیعت آنست که دست شیخی گیرند

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 345.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 345.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 345-346.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 78; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 326.

(Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din is our spiritual guide and master, but this form of initiation is not proper. Initiation and discipleship means that one should grasp the hand of a Shaikh).

Amir Khurd has briefly described the manner in which Shaikh Farid admitted people into his discipleship. He asked every new entrant to recite first of all the *Surah-i-Fatihah*¹, the *Surah-i-Ikhlās*² and a few other sacred texts. Then he told him to confirm that he owed allegiance to him, his spiritual master, the elders of his *silsilah* and the Prophet of Islam. Later on, he asked him³.

با حضرت عزت عهد کردی که دست و پائی و چشم نگاهداری و بر نهج شرع باشی

(Solmenly promise to God that you will control your hands, your feet and your eyes and will follow the path of *Shari'at*).

When the Shaikh bestowed his *khirqah* (patched frock) on any body he recited the sentence⁴:

و لباس التقوی ذالک خیر و العاقبة للمتقین

(This is the dress of piety and the fruits of the next world are for the pious).

The Shaikh advised all recipients of *khirqahs* against annoying any living being with their hands, eyes or tongues. He exhorted them to fix their hearts on Him alone and devote their time to mystic contemplation and guard themselves against being involved in evil desires⁵.

Shaving the head (*mahluq kardan*)⁶ of a new entrant to the mystic discipline was a popular practice amongst the Chishtis. It was considered to be an external expression of a disciple's determination to sacrifice his all in the way of God.

Fortunately for us, it struck the mind of Amir Khurd to copy out verbatim the text of some *khilafat namahs*⁷ in his book, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*. These documents throw valuable light on the aims and objects of the Chishti

1. *Quran* S. I.

2. *Quran* S. CXII.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 323.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 323.

5. *Ibid*.

6. For mystic explanation of this practice, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 161.

7. For the text of *khilafat namahs* given by Shaikh Farid and Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya to their disciples, See Appendix.

saints in appointing *khalifahs* to various territories. The following instructions, contained in these *khilafat namahs*, deserve to be particularly noted:

- I: Settle in some out-of-the-way mosque in which prayers are offered in congregation.
- II: Do not attach your heart with anything worldly. Act upon the tradition of the Prophet: "*Live in the world like a traveller or a wayfarer and count yourself among the dead.*"
- III: Control the cravings of the flesh. If this struggle wears you out, pacify your passions either by religious devotions or by sleeping for a while.
- IV: Abstain from idle seclusion because this makes a man's heart neglectful.
- V: To invite the people towards God is the finest work of Islam and the most necessary element of faith. God himself says: "*O Muhammad! Show to the people My way and tell them about My faith and tell them that I call people towards Him and all my followers are on the path of truth.*"
- VI: Grant your *khilafat* to one who does not deviate an inch from the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, devotes his time to prayers and cuts himself off completely from all worldly connections and temptations.
- VII: A *khalifah* is a deputy of the Shaikh both in religious and secular matters.

Only one instance would suffice to give some idea of the psychological methods adopted by the Chishti saints to mould the personalities of their disciples in consonance with the spirit of their *silsilah*:

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya reached Ajodhan after having won his laurels in the highest academic circles of Delhi. He was an excellent debator and was, on that account, known as Nizam-u'd-din *mahfil shikan*. One day he met an old companion and class-fellow who was surprised to find him in grimy and tattered clothes. "Maulana Nizam-u'd-din!" he exclaimed, "What misfortune has befallen you? Had you taken to the teaching profession at Delhi, you would have become the leading scholar of the time and would have prospered." Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din did not give him any reply; he came to his master and narrated the incident before him. "What would be your answer to such a question?" asked Shaikh Farid. "As the Shaikh directs," replied Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din. "Tell him," Shaikh Farid replied:

نہ ہمدھی تو مرا' راہ خویش گیر' برو
ترا سعادت بادا' مرا نگوں ساری

(You are not my fellow-traveller. Follow your path. Get along. May prosperity be your share in life and misfortune mine.)

The Shaikh then asked his disciple to order a tray of every variety of food from his kitchen and carry it on his head to his friend¹.

Nothing could have been more effective in eliminating all sense of false prestige from the mind of a young disciple, fresh from the lecture-rooms of Delhi, than the method adopted by the Shaikh. Thus he not only rooted out all traces of desire for the easy and comfortable life of *shughl* (government service) that might have lingered on in the heart of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, but made it absolutely clear to him that the requirements of the life he had chosen for himself were entirely different from the life his friend was leading or wanted him to lead.

Sometime later, another incident took place and brought a strong reprimand from the Shaikh. The Shaikh was teaching the '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*' to his disciples. The manuscript before him contained some errors of transcription. He had, therefore, to proceed slowly, correcting every mistake and removing every inaccuracy. Interrupting the Shaikh, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din said that Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil possessed a good manuscript of the book. Shaikh Farid was irritated at this remark. "Has this *dervish* no capacity to correct a defective manuscript?" he indignantly repeated several times. Realizing that his master had disapproved of his remarks, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din fell at his feet and implored for his forgiveness. But Shaikh Farid's anger did not subside. Finding the Shaikh so deeply annoyed and displeased, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din was overtaken by deep grief. He went into the wilderness, weeping and crying. In a mood of extreme mental torture, he even thought of committing suicide. Eventually a son of Shaikh Farid interceded on his behalf and secured the Shaikh's pardon. The Shaikh summoned Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din and told him: "All this I have done for your perfection.... A *pir* is a dresser of brides (مشاطه)²."

On the face of it, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's remark seems quite innocent, but the Shaikh's intuitive intelligence discovered intellectual snobbishness and arrogance in it and, so, he did not hesitate in adopting the most drastic method to check this tendency. In fact it was through these methods, deeply psychological and extremely effective, that a Shaikh cleansed and purified the inner life of a disciple to the highest point of mystic excellence.

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 239.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 26-27.

B: THE SUHRAWARDI SILSILAH—ITS SAINTS AND ORGANIZATION

The Suhrawardi saints in India

Due to the Ghuzz and the Mongol devastation of 'Ajam, many of the disciples of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi migrated to India. "I have many disciples in India," Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi is reported to have remarked.¹ Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi,² Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri,³ Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi⁴, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya,⁵ Maulana Majd-u'd-din Haji,⁶ Shaikh Zia-u'd-din Rumi,⁷ were among his celebrated *khalifahs* in India. Each one of them had a distinguished career in his own sphere, but the credit for organizing the Suhrawardi *silsilah* in India belongs exclusively to Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya. Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi shot like a meteor over the Indian horizon and after short stays in Hansi, Bada'un and Delhi disappeared in Bengal. Earlier authorities do not tell us anything about his activities after his departure from Delhi, but later writers credit him with having established a magnificent *khanqah* in Bengal and having converted a very large number of Hindus to Islam⁸. The devotion of a section of the Hindus to him is clearly evinced in the Sanskrit work, *Shekasubhodaya*.⁹ His personal

1. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 36.

2. Originally a disciple of Shaikh Abu Sa'id Tabrizi, he later on attached himself with Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi. For brief biographical references, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 33, 113, 144; *Khair-u'l-Majalis* pp. 79: 80; 191-193; 211-220; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 164-171, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar* pp. 43-45; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS); *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* (MS). If any credence is put on Ibn Battutah's statement that he met the Shaikh in the mountains of Kamrau (i.e. Kamrup in W. Assam) then, he must have attained the age of 150 years.

3. For brief notices, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 128-241 etc. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 45, 276; *Futuh-u's-Salatin* pp. 114; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 147-151; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 36-43; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS). *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* (MS).

4. For brief notices, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 193; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, pp. 41-44; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 28-29; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* MS; *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt*, MS.

5. For brief notices, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 5, 10 etc. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 131, 137, 283; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 102, 128; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 26-27; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* MS, 18; *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt*, MS.

6. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 49.

7. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 72.

8. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 171. Jamali writes:

ده حضرت شيخ المشايخ جلال الدين تبریزی چون در بنگاله رفت خلایق آن دیار برایشان رجوع نمود و مرید گشت و حضرت شیخ در آن مقام خانقاه ساخت و لنگر گردانید و آنجا بیشتر شد و آن بندر را دیوه محل گویند - حضرت شیخ در آنجا بسیار کافر را مسلمان ساخت، آلن مقدره مطهره ایشان هم در آن بتخانه است و نصف حاصل آن بندر وقف لنگر ایشان است ۴۴

9. Edited by Sukumar Sen (Calcutta)

prestige and influence apart, his *khanqah* could not develop into a centre for the extension of the Suhrawardi mystic *silsilah* in Bengal. Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri was probably one of the most erudite scholars of his age¹ and his works were respected in the highest academic circles of the country but he singularly lacked in organizing capacity. Excepting a butcher of Delhi,² a rope-maker of Bada'un³ and Shaikh Ahmad of Nahrawala⁴ he did not admit anybody to his discipline.⁵ The ecstatic element so predominated⁶ his life that he preferred to pass his time in mystic songs⁷ and dances—much against the tradition of his elder saints—rather than attempt the arduous task of organizing a spiritual order. Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi, Maulana Majd-u'd-din Haji and Shaikh Zia-u'd-din Rumi were too near the rulers and the bureaucracy to plan for the expansion of the *silsilah*. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya was a saint of different mettle. He had travelled widely in Muslim lands⁸ and had studied carefully the problems of the contemporary Muslim society. Endowed with great intuitive intelligence (*nafs-i-gira*)⁹, he set up his *khanqah* at Multan, a place of great political and strategic significance in those times, and succeeded in organizing his *silsilah* on an effective basis.

Life and Teachings of the founder of the Suhrawardi Silsilah in India

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya¹⁰ was born at Kot Aror (near Multan) in 578 A.H./1182-83. After completing his study of the *Quran* according to its seven methods of recitation at Kot Aror, he visited great centres of

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 241.

2. His name was 'Ain-u'd-din. See *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 151.

3. His name was Shaikh Shahi Rasan-Tab. See *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 152, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 48.

4. See *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 150-151; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 46.

5. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya is reported to have remarked:

شیخ جلال الدین کم کسی را دست دادی و ہم چہیں قاضی حمید الدین ناگوری
Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad, p. 33.

6. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS, p. 91) contains the following interesting information about him:

میگویند کہ او پھوستہ چشم بستہ بودی، گفتند شیخ از چہ سبب چشم
نمی کشائی، جواب داد، گفت دو چشم ندارم کہ این عالم را بہ بینم

(It is said that he always kept his eyes closed. They asked: "Why does not the Shaikh open his eyes?" He replied: "I do not possess two eyes to be able to see this world also.")

7. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 241; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 36.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 5.

9. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 221.

10. For biographical details, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 5, 10 etc; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 131, 137, 283; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 60, 77, etc.; *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah* (MS); *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 102-128; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 26-27.

Muslim learning at Khurasan, Bukhara, Medina and Palestine—in order to complete his study of the traditional sciences. When in Medina, he learnt Hadis with an eminent traditionist, Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din Yemeni and spent several years in religious devotions at the mausoleum of the Prophet. After visiting the graves of the prophets of the Israelites in Palestine, he reached Baghdad and became a disciple of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi. At this time he was, as his master said, 'dry wood ready to catch fire' and so, after seventeen days' instruction, he appointed him his successor and ordered him to set up a Suhrawardi *khanqah* in Multan. He lived and worked in Multan for more than half a century and his *khanqah* developed into a great centre of mystic discipline in medieval India. He died in Multan on Safar 7, 661/December 21, 1262.

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya was one of the most influential mystic teachers of his age. It is indeed surprising that none of his disciples thought of compiling an account and life and teachings. The *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah* refers to a *Wasiyat Namah* of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya, but it is not available now. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* is probably the earliest work which contains several very significant pieces of information about him. Later Suhrawardi writers have mainly relied on *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* in reconstructing an account of the life and teachings of the great Suhrawardi saint of Multan.

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya held independent views on many problems of religion and politics. His mystic ideology was radically different from that of his Chishti contemporaries. He believed in living a normal, balanced life—a life in which both the body and the spirit receive equal care. Neither he himself fasted perpetually nor did he recommend a life of starvation and self-mortification to those associated with him. According to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya he acted on the Quranic injunction: "*Eat of what is pure and act righteously.*"¹

As pointed out earlier², emphasis on the external forms of religion was a tradition of the Indian Suhrawardis. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya did not, of course, go to the length of Sayyid Sadr-u'd-din Raju Qattal, but he never spared anybody found indifferent to or ignorant of the forms of religious devotion. The way in which he expelled a *dervish*, Sulaiman by name, from Multan shows a bit intolerant attitude in such matters. The Shaikh had asked him to say two *rak'ats* of prayer. "I want to see how you do it",

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 184.

2. See *supra* p. 179.

said the Shaikh. When Sulaiman rose up to offer his prayers, he did not place his feet properly; he placed them either too near or too far from each other. The Shaikh got irritated and asked him to leave Multan and settle in Uchch¹.

The Shaikh did not approve of the Chishti² practice of bowing before a Shaikh. His followers accosted him merely with the words "*As salam alakum*" for no other form of showing respect was permitted in his *khanqah*³.

Unlike the Chishtis, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din believed in accumulating wealth⁴. Besides, he did not abstain from taking part in political matters or associating with the political powers. This departure from the established tradition of medieval mysticism apart, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din possessed not only great organizing capacity but also a very remarkable understanding of human nature⁵. He organized the Suhrawardi *silsilah* on firm foundations and attracted to his fold a very large number of talented disciples.

Successors of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya had seven sons⁶ and a very large number of disciples scattered all over Multan and Sind. His son, Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif (ob. 1285), succeeded him as his chief *khalifah* and *sajjadah-nashin* in Multan; while his disciple, Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Surkh Bukhari (ob. 1291) established a strong Suhrawardi centre at Uchch. The history

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 221.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 215; 148-159. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh, however, stopped this practice and emphatically declared:

پیش مخلوق سر بر زمین نهادن روا نیست

(It is not lawful to place head on the ground before a creature). *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 157.

3. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 123.

4. For details, see the next chapter. See also *Jawami'-u'l-Kilam*, p. 213, where Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz is reported to have remarked:

مشایخ ملتان هستی بر جمع مال دارند و مشایخ خراسان تعلقی به تجارت و سوداگری دارند - اما خواجهگان ما به هیچ از اسباب دنیاوی متعلق نشده

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 221.

6. Their names were: Shaikh Kamal-u'd-din, Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif, Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Muhammad, Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din Yahya, Shaikh Mahbub, Shaikh Burhan Ahmad and Shaikh Zia-u'd-din Hamid. Our only source for this information is the *Gulzar-i-Abrar* of Muhammad Ghausi. Barani refers to one Shaikh Qidwah as the son of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya. (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 66-67).

of the Suhrawardi *silsilah* in India mainly revolves round these two branches—the Multan branch and the Uchch branch. Unlike the Chishtis, succession in the Suhrawardi order was determined on a hereditary basis. For two generations these two branches produced distinguished saints with great talent for organization but, later on, the *silsilah* disintegrated because those who had to look after its affairs were men of smaller stature and inferior mettle.

Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif¹ worked for nearly 23 years after the death of his father from whom he differed basically in his attitude towards some of the fundamental problems of religion and politics. He hated wealth and considered it to be the source of all spiritual distractions and worldly troubles. His share in the patrimony amounted to 7 lac *tankahs*, but he distributed the entire amount in charity. Unable to appreciate the reasons for this departure from the practice of his father, some people could not help interrogating him on this point. He replied that since his father had complete control over worldly desires and temptations, he could, with confidence and with justification, hoard wealth and spend it but, as he himself did not possess that strength of character, he was afraid of indulging in money matters 'lest it might lead him astray.'² This change in the Suhrawardi attitude was probably due to contemporary criticism. Shaikh 'Arif dispensed with the materialistic basis of his *khanqah* and preferred to be a 'debtor' rather than a 'creditor'.³ His conversations were compiled, under the title *Kunuz-u'l-Fawa'id*, by his disciple Khwaja Zia-u'd-din.

Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Surkh⁴ was a native of Bukhara. He came to Multan attracted by the reputation of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya. The Shaikh initiated him into his discipline and instructed him to settle in Uchch and propagate the Suhrawardi mystic principles. Many tribes of Uchch claim that he was responsible for the conversion of their ancestors to Islam.

Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din had three sons—Sayyid Ahmad Kabir, Sayyid Baha-u'd-din and Sayyid Muhammad. Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din

1. For brief notices, see *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 128-140; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 60-62; *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* (MS).

2. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 129.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, pp. 66-67.

4. For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 155-156; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 60.

Makhdum-i-Jahanian¹ (1308-1383) was the eldest son of Sayyid Ahmad Kabir. Under his guidance the Uchch branch of the Suhrawardi order became a factor of great importance in the religious and political life of Sind. His activities, however, do not count for our period.

Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif (ob. 1286 A.D.) was followed by his son, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Abul Fath² (ob. 1335). He occupies the same position in the history of the Suhrawardi *silsilah* which Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya occupies in the history of the Chishti order. For nearly half a century he worked incessantly and with single-minded devotion to propagate the Suhrawardi mystic ideas. Zia-u'd-din Barani pays eloquent tribute to him and says that the entire population of Sind had faith in him and even large number of 'Ulama had joined the circle of his disciples.³ It is unfortunate that no Suhrawardi records about him are available. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddis refers to a book, *Fatawa-i-Sufia*⁴, in which one of his disciples had given a detailed account of his life and teachings. This work is extinct.

As noted elsewhere, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya treated the *qalandars* with indifference. It is, however, interesting to find that some of the *qalandar* organizations of the period trace their spiritual descent from him. Makhdum Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, one of the most renowned mystics of Sind, claimed spiritual authority from Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya. The mystic-group organized by Shaikh Ahmad Mashuq, *khalifah* of Shaikh 'Arif, closely resembled the *qalandars*. When Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din found the *qalandars* favourably disposed towards him and his *silsilah*, he adopted a very lenient and sympathetic attitude towards them⁵.

Personal and Family life of the Suhrawardi saints

Though no details about the family life of the Suhrawardi saints are available, it appears that they took better care of their families than their Chishti contemporaries. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya was very particular

1. For brief notices, see *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 'Afif, pp. 514-516; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 155-163; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 139-140; *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, (MS); *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* (MS); *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS). For his teachings, see Yusufi, *Mahbubiyah* (I.O.-D.P. 1107a (A.H. 1130/1718) D.P. 638 (A.H. 1268/1851); and three collections of his conversations; *Khulasat-u'l-Alfaz-i-Jami'-u'l-'Ulum* (Rampur MS); *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah* (MSS, Rampur and Aligarh) and *Manaqib-i-Makhdum-i-Jahanian* (MSS, A.S. Bengal). The *Safar Namah -i-Makhdum-i-Jahanian* (MSS in I.O.; Asafiyah Lindesiana and Madras; Urdu translation Lucknow) is a fabrication and contains incredible and fantastic stories about the saint.

2. For brief notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 135-141; *Futuh-u'-Salatin*, p. 443; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, pp. 347-348; *Rihlah*, Ibn Battutah (Urdu translation) p. 157; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 140 et seq; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 62-65; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS); *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayāt* (MS).

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 347.

4. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 62.

5. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 65.

about the education and training of his sons. He engaged tutors for his sons and paid handsome salaries to them.¹

A sixteenth century Suhrawardi writer says² that Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif had married a divorced wife of Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Balban. The circumstances of this marriage are given as follows: The prince divorced his wife, whom he passionately loved, in a fit of fury. When he recovered his normal state of mind, he felt deeply pained for what he had done. Legally he could not take her back into his *harem* unless she was married to some one else and then divorced by him. A man of genuine piety was searched to restore the broken relationship. Shaikh 'Arif, the most outstanding saint of the town, promised to marry the princess and divorce her the next day. But, after the marriage, he refused to divorce her on the ground that the princess herself was not prepared to be divorced. This incident led to bitterness between the saint and the prince. The latter even thought of taking action against the Shaikh, but a Mongol inundation cut short the thread of his life.

Khanqah Organization of the Suhrawardis

The Suhrawardi *khanqahs* of Multan were organized on a pattern basically different from that of the Chishtis. The difference arose, mainly, out of the fact that the Suhrawardis did not eschew politics. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya, the real founder of the Suhrawardi *silsilah* in India, mixed freely with the Sultans, took part in political affairs, amassed wealth and accepted government honours. He was probably the richest saint of medieval India. Enormous *futuh* (unasked for charity) flowed into his *khanqah*.³ Contrary to the practice of the Chishti saints, it was not disbursed immediately among the needy and the poor. He kept his wealth carefully and spent it with still greater care.⁴ He had a treasury (*khazanah*) containing boxes full of gold *tankahs*. Once a box of 5000 gold *tankahs* was found missing⁵ but the loss was not considered a serious one.

The abundance of his wealth⁶ made the local administration of Multan look upon him for help in times of need⁷ and excited the cupidity of

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 223.

2. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 135.

3. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 106.

4. Jamali informs us او بتدریج خرچ می فرمود
Siyar-u'l-'Arifin, p. 129.

5. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 114.

6. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 129. چندین اجناس و نقود موجود بود

7. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 223; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 114.

robbers who resorted to black-mail¹ in order to exact money from his sons. Once the Wali of Multan borrowed some corn from him. When this corn was being removed from his granaries, pitchers full of silver *tankahs* were found hidden therein.² In fact, his resources compared favourably with the resources of a medieval *Iqta'dar*. His grandson, Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din, accepted a *jagir* of 100 villages from Muhammad b. Tughluq.³ The Suhrawardi *khanqah* was, in many ways, a direct contrast to the Chishti *jama'at khanah*. It was, no doubt, more magnificent, better furnished and better organized, but not for the people. It had an aristocratic air both as to its structure and its organization, though the atmosphere of religious devotion was never wanting. A *qawwal* who visited the *khanqah* of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya during the reign of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud particularly noted the fact that even the slave girls of the Shaikh were all the time busy in reciting the praises of God.⁴

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din's *khanqah* covered an extensive area and provided separate accommodation for every inmate as well as for numerous visitors who flocked to it. In the Chishti *jama'at khanah*, on the contrary, all people, inmates as well as visitors, lived in a big hall, prayed there and slept there. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din, no doubt generously entertained his guests,⁵ but he did not maintain an open table. Only those who were invited by him could take food with him.

The Suhrawardi *khanqah* had large stocks of cereals in its granaries. Its treasuries were replete with gold and silver coins. The Chishti *jama'at khanah* had no such provision. The Chishtis depended on the uncertain and irregular income through *futuh*; the Suhrawardi *khanqahs* relied on the sure and regular *jagir* revenues.

Besides, the Suhrawardi *khanqahs* were not open to people all and sundry. "People are of two kinds," Shaikh Baha-u'd-din used to say, "the general public and the select. I have nothing to do with the general public and no reliance can be placed upon them. As to the select, they receive spiritual blessings and benefits from me according to their capacities."

1. Mir Khurd informs us that a son of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din was kidnapped by a robber and was released on payment of a huge ransom by Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din. *Siyar-u'l-'Auliya*, p. 159.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 223; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 114.

3. *Rihlah* II, p. 61.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p. 149.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 105.

Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Firdausi once visited Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif in Multan and found his table full of dishes, daintily prepared, 'resembling the table of kings'. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 137.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 136.

In view of this, the Suhrawardi saint did not allow *qalandars*, *jawaliqs* or others whom he did not consider fit for his spiritual training, to sojourn in his *khanqah* or waste his time. He had fixed hours for interview. He refused to be disturbed by visitors at odd hours.

The Shaikh's spiritual greatness, his piety and his devotion were universally acknowledged, but the contemporary mystic thought could not reconcile itself to the idea of accumulating wealth and at the same time claiming to be the guardian of the spiritual welfare of the people. This apparent contradiction they could neither understand nor condone. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya made every possible effort to convince his critics that it was not so much the wealth as its improper use that was detrimental to spiritual progress, but they stuck to their views and repeatedly told him: "Two opposites cannot meet at one place." (الفدان لا يجتمعان)¹

Medieval religious literature does not make a secret of the objections raised by the contemporaries against this behaviour of the great Suhrawardi saint. Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi and Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Suwali had lengthy correspondence with him on this subject.² Sometimes the Shaikh, when charged with a volley of questions from the other side, found himself in an embarrassing situation. Once, in a *mahzar* (a legal court) convened by Iltutmish, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Suwali took advantage of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din's presence in the court and put questions to him about accumulation of wealth. The Shaikh was nonplussed. The Suhrawardi sources state that the Shaikh invoked the spiritual guidance of his mentor, Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi, in order to give a suitable reply to his critics.³

The demand to explain this anomalous position was persistent. The replies given by the Suhrawardi saints were more rhetorical than logical and the quick-witted questioners refused to be confused by rhetorics and platitudes. Once, on being questioned about his wealth, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din replied: "Wealth is doubtless a venomous serpent. But poison does not harm one who knows the antidote." The critic retorted: "Where is the necessity of keeping a dirty venomous creature and then depend on an antidote for safety." Shaikh Baha-u'd-din replied: "Your *derveshi* has no beauty or attraction. Our *derveshi* has immense beauty. Wealth is like a black dot averting the evil effect of jealous glances."

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 158.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 99-100; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 158.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 14.

When no convincing argument in favour of accumulating wealth was found, they replied : "Wealth is a disease in heart, in hand it is a cure."¹

Jamali, himself affiliated to the Suhrawardi *silsilah* and possessing huge wealth,² records these incidents in a manner which betrays his own dissatisfaction at the attitude of his elder saints.

1. *Siyar-u'l 'Arifin* p. 14.

2. *Akhbar-u'l- Akhyar* p. 222.

CHAPTER VII

MUSLIM MYSTIC IDEOLOGY AND CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

“The greatest of all the spirit’s tasks”, remarks Albert Schweitzer, “is to produce a theory of the Universe (*weltanschauung*). In that all the ideas, convictions and activities of an age have their roots.”¹ The Muslim mystics of the middle ages did not merely produce a theory of the Universe, they built up their lives also in consonance with it.

The mystical attitude grows out of the basic metaphysical postulate adumbrated in the doctrine of *wahdat-u'l-wujud*. Briefly put, it means that whatever exists objectively as well as subjectively, outside the mind of man as well as inside it, is One; call it whatever you like—Universe, Nature, Reality, Truth or God. Faith in this unity of the noumenal and the phenomenal world is the beginning of the mystical experience. Its highest stage is reached when, like Shaikh Muhammad b. Wasi, a mystic is constrained to confess: “I never saw anything without seeing God therein.”²

Since a medieval mystic conceived of God as the totality of cosmic existence, cosmic emotion became the *elan vital* of his life³. He craved for communion with Him so that the distinction between ‘I’ and ‘Not-I’ might disappear in the mystic absorption of the human soul in the Absolute. He consecrated every moment of his life and dedicated every fibre of his being to Him and Him alone. He strove “to live for the Lord alone,”⁴ for that alone was life⁵. The yearning of his soul was:

مقصود من خسته ز کونین توئی
از بهر تو میروم ز برائی تو زیم⁶

1. *The Decay and Restoration of Civilization*, London 1950, p. 81.

2. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, English Translation, p. 91.

3. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya wrote in a letter to Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Maruzi: “The highest purpose and the supreme aim of creating mankind is the ‘love of God’.” *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 454-455.

4. For instances of sublimation of the two basic desires—hunger and sex—by mystics in their attempt to live for the Lord alone, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 60-61; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 178-179.

5. حیات آنست که درویش بذكر حق مشغول باشد (That alone is life which is spent by a *dervish* in meditation of God.) *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 20.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 20.

A single moment's engagement with *Non-Absolute* (فیهو حق) was considered tantamount to spiritual death and mystic literature is replete with stories of mystics who have appeared in sack-cloth and ashes on that account¹.

The Mystic Path

Gnosis (*ma'rifat*) or Union (*wasl*) being the *summum bonum* of a mystic's life, ways and means were explored through which one could reach his ideal. "You must know that the way to God," writes Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri, "is of three kinds: (1) *maqam*, (2) *hal*, (3) *tamkin*...*Maqam* (station) denotes any one's 'standing' in the way of God, and his fulfilment of the obligations appertaining to that 'station' and his keeping it until he comprehends its perfection so far as lies in a man's power. It is not permissible that he should quit his 'station' without fulfilling the obligations thereof. ...*Hal* (state), on the other hand, is something that descends from God into a man's heart, without his being able to repel it when it comes, or to attract it when it goes, by his own effort... 'station' denotes the way of the seeker and his progress in the field of exertion and his rank before God in proportion to his merit, the term 'state' denotes the favour and grace which God bestows upon the heart of His servant...*Tamkin* denotes the residence of spiritual adepts in the abode of perfection and in the highest grade. Those in 'station' can pass on from their 'stations', but it is impossible to pass beyond the grade of *tamkin*."²

The 'stations' (*maqamat*) which a mystic had to cover have been thus enumerated by Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi in his '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*—the guide book of almost all the Indo-Muslim mystics of the thirteenth century:

First Stage:	<i>Tauba</i>	(Repentance)
Second Stage:	<i>Wara'</i>	(Abstinence)
Third Stage:	<i>Zuhd</i>	(Piety)
Fourth Stage:	<i>Faqr</i>	(Poverty)
Fifth Stage:	<i>Sabr</i>	(Patience)
Sixth Stage:	<i>Shukr</i>	(Gratitude)
Seventh Stage:	<i>Khauf</i>	(Fear)
Eighth Stage:	<i>Raja</i>	(Hope)
Ninth Stage:	<i>Tawakkul</i>	(Contentment)
Tenth Stage:	<i>Riza</i> ³	(Submission to the Divine Will).

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 224; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 224-245.

2. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, pp. 181, 371.

3. '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, (Urdu Translation) pp. 585-620.

Since these terms have a definite mystic connotation, it is necessary to explain them in the light of medieval mystic records:

1. Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri writes: "Etymologically *tauba* means 'return', and '*tauba*' really involves the turning back from what God has forbidden through fear of what he has commanded. The Apostle said: *Penitence is the act of returning*. This saying comprises three things which are involved in *tauba*, namely, (1) remorse for disobedience, (2) immediate abandonment of sin, and (3) determination not to sin again."¹ Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya used to say that *tauba* is a very comprehensive act which appertains to the present, to the past and to the future of the repentant². The most significant psychological fact about it was the assertion of the Shaikh that a repentant was equal to one who had never committed a sin³.
2. *Wara'* means abstaining, in word, thought and deed, from all unnecessary and unseemly occupations, though they may be permitted by the *shari'at*⁴. It was in view of this principle that some mystics said: "Those who are satisfied with jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and do not practise abstinence (*wara'*) become wicked."⁵
3. *Zuhd* is giving up of interest in all worldly goods and attractions. Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi approvingly quotes a remark of Shaikh Junaid that *zuhd* consists in having a hand empty of provisions and a heart free of all desires⁶. Abul Mawahib Shazili considers it the seventh maxim of Illumination and says: "If you do not renounce the petty goods of this vile world surely you are far from the beneficence of the glorious life to come."⁷
4. "*Faqr*", writes Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri, "is a special distinction of the poor, who have renounced all things external and internal, and have turned entirely to the Causer...Poverty has a form (*rasm*)

1. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 294. See also, *The Doctrine of the Sufis*, translation of the *Kitab-u'l-Ta'arruf-li-mazhabi-Ahl-i-Tasawwuf* of Kalabazi by A. J. Arberry, pp. 82-83; '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* (Urdu) pp. 600-602. Mir Khurd has very clearly explained the views of the Chishti mystics on *tauba* in a section of his *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 330-333.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 139; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 330.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 3, 19.

4. *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, p. 294.

5. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 17.

6. '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, p. 604; *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, p. 294 *et seq.*

7. *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism*, English translation of Abul Mawahib Shazili's *Qawanin Hikam-u'l-Ishraq*, p. 50.

and an essence (*haqiqat*). Its form is destitution and indigence, but its essence is fortune and free choice."¹

5. *Sabr* means that whether a man is visited by a blessing or a misfortune, he should consider it from the divine source and bear it patiently². Hasan Basri is reported to have said: "*Sabr* (patience) is of two sorts: firstly, patience in misfortune and affliction; and secondly, patience to refrain from the things which God has commanded us to renounce and has forbidden us to pursue."³
6. *Shukr* means expressing gratitude to God, explicitly and implicitly, through tongue and through heart⁴.
7. *Khauf* signifies trepidation lest one's evil conduct may have unpleasant consequences in the future⁵.
8. *Raja* means looking for a desired contingency in the future⁶.
9. *Tawakkul* means trusting one's affairs to God. Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri quotes a mystic who defined *tawakkul* as "confidence in God that He will provide thy daily bread."⁷ Without this faith in God, no higher spiritual attainment was possible.
10. *Riza* is "equanimity (*istiwa-yi dil*) towards Fate, whether withholds or bestows, and spiritual steadfastness (*istiqamat*) in regarding events, whether they be the manifestation of Divine beauty (*jamal*) or of Divine majesty (*jalal*), so that it is all one to a man whether he is consumed in the fire of wrath or illuminated by the light of mercy, because both wrath and mercy are evidences of God, and whatever proceeds from God is good in His eyes."⁸

1. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, pp. 19-20; see also, *The Doctrine of the Sufis*, pp. 86-88; *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, pp. 611-614; *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 296-299. Mir Khurd has discussed the Chishti view point in his *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 545-47.

2. *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 299-303. See also, *The Doctrine of the Sufis* pp. 84-85; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 548-550.

3. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 86.

4. *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, pp. 614-615; *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 303-306; *The Doctrine of the Sufis*, p. 91.

5. See *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, pp. 615-617; *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 306-310.

6. *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*, pp. 617-618; *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 310-313. See also *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, (p. 550) for Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's views on *khauf* and *raja*.

7. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 117. See also, *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 101, 54; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 552-554.

8. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 177.

“You must know,” writes Shaikh ‘Ali Hajweri, “that satisfaction (*riza*) is the end of the ‘stations’ (*maqamat*) and the beginning of the ‘states’: it is a place of which one side rests on acquisition and effort, and the other side on love and rapture: there is no ‘station’ above it; at this point mortifications (*mujahadat*) cease.”¹

While traversing this spiritual journey, a mystic passed through and experienced various emotional conditions (*hal*). In mystic terminology these states are known as:

1. *Muhabbat* (Love) :

“Man’s love towards God is a quality which manifests itself in the heart of the pious believer, in the form of veneration and magnification, so that he seeks to satisfy his Beloved and becomes impatient and restless in his desire for vision of Him, and cannot rest with any one except Him, and grows familiar with the remembrance (*zikr*) of Him, and abjures the remembrance of every thing besides.”²

2. *Shauq* (Yearning or Longing):

It signifies “the assault of the claim of delight on account of the Beloved in the lover’s heart. Its existence is the requisite of love’s truth.”³ ...*Shauq* is of two kinds: (a) The *shauq* of the lovers of *sifat* (qualities). They long for the Beloved’s grace, mercy and kindness. (b) The *shauq* of the lovers of *zat* (Being). They long for union with the Beloved⁴.

3. *Ghairat* (Jealousy):

Ghairat means being jealous for God’s service and not admitting any other thought into one’s mind. It is an attribute of God Himself, Who is jealous lest His servant should commit any kind of sin⁵.

4. *Qurb* (Proximity):

It means a feeling of nearness to God⁶.

1. *Kashf-u’l-Mahjub*, p. 182; see also, *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 234; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 548-550.

2. *Kashf-u’l-Mahjub*, pp. 307-308; see also ‘*Awarif-u’l-Ma'arif*, p. 636 *et seq*; *Misbah-u’l-Hidayah*, p. 320 *et seq*; *Siyar-u’l-Auliya*, pp. 453-491.

3. *The 'Awarif-u’l-Ma'arif*, by H. Wilberforce Clarke, p.104.

4. *Misbah-u’l-Hidayah*, pp. 326-328.

5. *Misbah-u’l-Hidayah*, pp. 328-331.

6. *Misbah-u’l-Hidayah*, pp. 331-333.

5. *Haya* (Shame):

Shame of being found wanting in sincerity¹.

6. *Uns-o-Haibat* (Intimacy and Awe):

"*Uns* and *haibat* are two states of the *dervishes* who travel on the Way to God. When God manifests His glory to a man's heart so that His majesty (*jalal*) predominates, he feels awe (*haibat*) but when God's beauty (*jamal*) predominates he feels intimacy (*uns*): those who feel awe are distressed, while those who feel intimacy are rejoiced."²

7. *Qabz-o-Bast* (Contraction and Expansion):

"*Qabz* and *bast* are two involuntary states which cannot be induced by any human act or banished by any human exertion... *Qabz* denotes the contraction of heart in the state of being veiled (*hijab*), and *bast* denotes the expansion of the heart in the state of revelation (*kashf*)."³

8. *Fana-o-Baqa* (Annihilation and Subsistence):

"*Fana* and *baqa* are two complementary aspects of one and the same experience in which the real is *seen* to persist, the phenomenal to pass away—*fana* is characteristic of all that is "other than God", *baqa*, of God alone."⁴

9. *Ittisal* (Union):

This is the final 'state' of mystic experience when one feels 'union' with the Reality⁵. The distinction between 'I' and 'Not-I' completely disappears and the mystic attains not merely *ma'rifat* (gnosis) but *wasl* (union).

Service of Humanity

But this inward march of the human soul from one 'station' to another was futile if it did not express itself in some form of social service. "The soul of the great mystic," observes Bergson, "does not come to a halt at the (mystical) ecstasy as though that were the goal of a journey. The ecstasy may indeed be called a state of repose, but it is the repose of a locomotive standing in a station under steam pressure, with its movement continuing as

1. *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 333-334.

2. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 376. See also, *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 334-337.

3. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 347. See also *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, p. 337 *et seq.*

4. *Futuh-i-Mecciyah*, as quoted by Afifi, *Muhyi-u'd-din Ibnul Arabi*, p. 146. For detailed discussion of this mystic experience and the controversies associated with it, see, *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 242 *et seq.*

5. *Misbah-u'l-Hidayah*, pp. 342-343.

a stationary throbbing while it waits for the moment to make a new leap forward...The great mystic has felt the truth flow into him from its source like a force in action...His desire is with God's help to complete the creation of the human species...The mystic's direction is the very direction of the *elan* of life."¹

Muslim mystics of the thirteenth century looked upon 'social service' as the supreme object of all their spiritual exercises². As noticed earlier, when Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti was asked about the highest form of devotion, he replied that it was nothing but helping the poor, the distressed and the downtrodden³. All the great mystic teachers of medieval India agreed with the view point of the Chishti saint. They considered a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation to be incompatible with the highest mystic ideals. If a man became ego-centric, limited his sympathies and cut himself off completely from the energizing currents of social life, he failed to fulfil the mystic mission. "Live in society and bear the blows and buffets of the people," was the advice which a mystic teacher always gave to his disciples⁴.

"Devotion to God is of two kinds", Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya is reported to have observed, "*lazmi* (obligatory) and *muta'addi* (communicable). In the *lazmi* devotion, the benefit which accrues is confined to the devotee alone. This type of devotion includes prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, recitation of religious formulae, turning over the beads of the rosary etc. The *muta'addi* devotion, on the contrary, brings advantage and comfort to others; it is performed by spending money on others, showing affection to people and by other means through which a man strives to help his fellow human beings. The reward of *muta'addi* devotion is endless and limitless."⁵

This *ta'at-i-muta'addi* was the *leitmotif* of a mystic's efforts (*jihad*). Nothing would bring greater reward on the Day of Judgement, a mystic teacher told his disciples, than bringing happiness to the hearts of men⁶. This could be done by attending to the problems of the misery-stricken people,

1. *Les Deux Sources de la Morale et la Religion*, pp. 246-51 as quoted by Toynbee, *Study of History* (Vols i-vi) pp. 212-13.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 46.

3. *Supra*, p. 185.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 237.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 13-14; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 411.

6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 128.

assuaging their wounds, pulling up their hearts and by infusing new life and confidence in their broken nerves.

Tark-i-Dunya

A mystic was expected to reject the world (*dunya*)¹. The question arises: What this *dunya* was and how could it be renounced? The general impression that *tark-i-dunya* meant adopting an hermit's attitude towards life and severing all earthly connections is not confirmed by contemporary mystic records. In fact, it was not the world as such which the mystics rejected but the materialistic approach towards life and its problems which they hated and despised. The more a man got involved in materialistic pursuits, farther he drifted from his spiritual objective.

It is significant that in medieval mystic anecdotes *dunya* is made to appear in the form of treasure, woman or government service. A Chishti saint told his disciples that once Christ saw the world in the form of an ugly old woman and asked: "How many husbands hath thee?" "Innumerable", replied the hag. "Hath any of these husbands divorced thee?" asked Christ. "No", replied the old woman, "I have myself finished them."²

Thus lust for worldly goods and glory, *shughl* (government service) and *shahwat* (appetites) were considered to be the real barricades (حجابات) between God and Man and renunciation of the world really meant rejecting these allurements. "The rejection of the world," said Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, "does not mean that one should strip himself of his clothes or put on a loin cloth and sit idle. Instead, 'rejection of the world' means that one may put on clothes and take food. What comes to him (unasked) he should accept but not hoard it. He should not place his heart in anything. Only this is the rejection of the world."³

In view of these basic principles of medieval mysticism, the Chishti saints of India advised their disciples against possession of private property⁴. Keep only what is absolutely necessary⁵, such as clothes for covering the private parts of the body, and distribute the rest—was the advice which they

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 9, 85, 130, 189, 190, 211, 224.

Siyar-u'l-Auliya, pp. 543-545.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 21.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 9. The famous mystic poet Rumi says:

چہست دنیا؟ از خدا فافل بودن نی قشاش و نقرہ و فرزند و زن

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 204.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 130.

gave to their followers. Real happiness, they said, lay not in accumulating money but in spending it.¹

Pacifism and Non-Violence

The early Indo-Muslim mystics believed in a pacific and non-violent approach towards all problems of human society. Force, they said, created more problems than it solved. It set in motion a vicious circle of wrong and retribution which disturbed the very basis of human relationship. "If a man places thorns (in your way)," said Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, "and you do the same, it will be thorns everywhere."²

The basic ideas of medieval Muslim mystics in this regard may be stated as follows:

1. A man should strenuously strive to develop the faculties of patience and endurance³. Those who get excited at the slightest provocation debase their spiritual powers. Anger should not be suppressed; it should be eliminated by forgiving the person who has committed a wrong⁴.

2. Self-criticism is the best way to minimize chances of friction in human society. The moment one begins to scrutinize his own behaviour in the face of some conflict, bitterness disappears and the enemy also cannot help being impressed by this attitude. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once told his audience: "If there is a strife between two persons—say, between me and some other person, its solution is this: I should, on my part, cleanse my heart of all ideas of revenge. If I succeed in doing that, the enemy's desire to do some harm to me would also be lessened."⁵

3. There are both good and bad tendencies in every man. In mystic terminology one may say that there is *nafs* (animal soul) and there is *qalb* (human soul) in every human being. *Nafs* is the abode of mischief, strife and animosity; *qalb* is the centre of peace, goodwill and resignation. If a man opposes you under the influence of his *nafs*, you should meet him with *qalb*. The *qalb* will over-power the *nafs* and the strife would end. "But if a man opposes *nafs* with *nafs*, there can be no end to conflicts and strifes."⁶

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 190; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 404.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 86-87.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 86-237.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 552-556.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 555.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 124.

4. A man's relationship with another man may be of any one of the following types: (a) He may be neither good nor bad to another. This is what happens in the non-living world (*jamadat*). (b) He may do no harm to another but only what is good. (c) A man does good to another, and if he does him harm, he remains patient and does not retaliate. According to medieval mystics the last was the ideal of the 'Truthful persons'.¹

The Muslim mystics of medieval India demonstrated the working of these non-violent and pacific principles in their own lives. They tried to impress, both by precept and example, upon the minds of their followers the fact that a true mystic should always strive for creating love and affection in the hearts of men. "Placate your enemies," was the advice which Shaikh Farid gave to his disciples². "Do not give me a knife", he once told a visitor, "Give me a needle. The knife is an instrument for cutting and the needle for sewing together."³ Hardly a day passed in these *khanqahs* when there was no provocation from an orthodox theologian or some insolent *qalandar* or some overbearing government officer. The saints met all such situations⁴ with extreme patience, sangfroid and forbearance. The mystic attitude towards all those who troubled and tortured them is very neatly epitomized in the following verses which Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya used to recite very often:

هر که مارا یار نبود، ایزد او را یار باد و آنکه ما را رنجه دارد راحتش بسیار باد
هر که او در راه ما خاری نهد از دشمنی هر گلی کز باغ عمرش بشکفتد بیخار باد

(He who is not my friend—may God be his friend! And he who bears ill-will against me, may his joys increase. He who puts thorns in my way on account of enmity, may every flower that blossoms in the garden of his life, be without thorns.)

Some saints extended the application of their non-violent principles to animals also and adopted the cult of *ahimsa*. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri did not like the slaughter of animals. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* says:

نخواستند که از برائی ایشان و به سبب ایشان جانی بی جان شود⁵

"He did not like any living being to be deprived of its life for him or on account of him".

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 237; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 555.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 140; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 330.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 226.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 125-126; 251, 48 etc. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 84 etc. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya threw open the gates of his *khanqah* when some *qalandars* began to pelt it, *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 48.

5. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, p. 10.

It was his deep faith in *ahimsa* which made him a strict vegetarian. He exhorted his disciples again and again to develop vegetarian tastes.¹

Chishti attitude towards the State

The Muslim mystics of the early middle ages, particularly those belonging to the Chishti *silsilah*, cut themselves off completely from kings, politics and government service. This attitude was based on various considerations, psychological, legal and religious.

First, they believed that government service distracted a mystic from the single-minded pursuit of his ideal which was 'living for the Lord alone'². Gnosis (*ma'rifat*) was beyond the reach of one who spent his time in *shughl* (government service).³ The days when government service was a service of religion were dead and gone. Now it was the service of class-interests and indulging in it, therefore, amounted to signing one's own spiritual death warrant.

Secondly, as Imam Ghazzali puts it: "In our times, the whole or almost the whole of the income of the Sultans is from prohibited sources. The permitted income is only *sadaqat*, *fay* and *ghanimah*. And these have no existence in these days. Only the *jiziyah* remains but it is realised through such cruel means that it does not continue to be permitted."⁴ Consequently services paid from these sources of income were deemed illegal.

Thirdly, all Muslim political organizations from the fall of the *Khilafat-i-Rashida* were essentially secular organizations, having little to do with religion or religious ideals. The entire court-life and the governmental organization breathed an atmosphere so alien to the true spirit of Islam that it was impossible to serve the state without obstructing religious advancement. Under these circumstances, as Imam Ghazzali argues, "the other

1. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, p. 43.

کرة از لفظ مبارک ایشان شنیده می شد که بر سهزی خوردن عادت باید کرد

2. Shaikh 'Ali Hajwari quotes the following sentence of Shibli:

الفقير لا يستغنى بشئى من دون الله

(The poor man does not rest content with anything except God). *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, English Translation, p. 25.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 363.

4. *Ihya-u'l-'Ulum*, Chapter IV. In this very chapter the Imam very emphatically declares:

جميع ما فى ايديهم حرام

(All that is in the hands of these rulers is prohibited).

See also *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat*, p. 57, et seq.

alternative is that a man should keep away from kings so that he does not come face to face with them and this alone is feasible for there is safety in it. It is obligatory to have the conviction that their cruelty deserves to be condemned. One should neither desire their continuance, nor praise them nor enquire about their affairs, nor keep contact with their associates.”¹

Fourthly, if a mystic associated himself with the governing class—which by its very nature was an exploiting class—he isolated himself from the main sphere of his activity, the masses. He ceased to be a man of the masses and became part of a bureaucratic machinery.

It was in view of these considerations that the Muslim mystics of the middle ages developed an attitude of contempt and indifference towards the government of the time and refused to serve under it. Imam Abu Hanifah (ob. 767 A.D.) turned down the request of Khalifa al-Mansur to accept the post of *qazi*². When Hisham b. Abdul Malik visited Medina to pay his respects to Hazrat Ta’us, the latter met him with indifference and disdain.³ Imam Ghazzali made a vow at the mausoleum of the Prophet Ibrahim Khalil-ullah to abstain completely from visiting the courts of kings⁴.

Khwaja Abu Muhammad, an elder saint of the Chishti *silsilah*, declined to accept the presents of a prince with the remark:

از خواجهگان ما از ینها کسی قبول نه کرده است⁵

(None of our elder saints has accepted such things.)

Khwaja Fuzail b. ‘Ayaz refused to grant an interview to Harun-u’r-Rashid and when he persisted in his request, the saint upbraided him severely.⁶

1. *Ihya-u’l-‘Ulum*, Chapter IV.

2. *Kashf-u’l-Mahjub*, p. 93.

3. *Kimiya-i-Sa’adat*, p. 174.

4. In a letter he says:

بر مشهد ابراهیم خلیل الله عهد کرد که هرگز پیس هیچ سلطان نرود و مال
هیچ سلطان نگیرد

Maktubat-i-Ghazzali, p. 7.

5. *Siyar-u’l-Auliya*, p. 41.

6. *Siyar-u’l-Auliya*, pp. 34-35.

Some saints adopted an extremist attitude in this matter and treated every thing associated with the ruler and the State as an obnoxious symbol of materialism. Imam Hanbal refused to dine at his son's house because he had served for one year as the *qazi* of Isfahan¹. Imam Abu Ishaq Fazari (ob. 802) did not permit courtiers and nobles to attend his lectures on *Hadis*. Shaikh Abu Sa'id Tabrizi ordered his servants to remove earth from those parts of his *khanqah* where a *hajib* from the court had placed his feet². Khwaja Suhail Tastari felt deep contrition for having once visited the court of a ruler of 'Iraq and repented for it for full seven years³. Khwaja Zunun Misri severely reproved a disciple who had visited a royal court and ordered him to put off his mystic garment and burn it⁴. The Indo-Muslim mystics of the thirteenth century followed these well-established traditions of medieval mysticism and eschewed the society of kings and nobles. "There are two kinds of abuses among mystics," a Chishti saint once remarked, "*Muqallid* and *Jirrat*. *Muqallid* is a mystic who has no master. *Jirrat* is one who asks people for money, wraps himself in a costly cloak, puts on a mystic cap and goes to kings and high officials."⁵

1. *Abstention from the company of Kings*

Almost all the notable saints of the Chishti order in India scrupulously avoided the company of kings and nobles. Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar visited the court of Iltutmish only once and that too under circumstances over which he had no control. As pointed out earlier, Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti was forced by his sons to proceed to the court and obtain a *muqarar dasht* from the Sultan. When the Khwaja reached Delhi, Qutb Sahib requested him to remain in his house, while he himself went to the *darbar*⁷. Except on this occasion, the Khwaja never visited the Sultan who had very great regard for him. Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar continued the traditions of his master. He warned his disciples against consorting with kings and princes. "If you desire to attain the position of great saints",

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1. *Ihya-u'l-'Ulum*, Chapter IV.
 2. *Tazkirat-u'l-Huffaz*, Vol. 1, pp. 248-249.
 3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 181.
 4. *Rahat-u'l-Qulub*, (MS).
 5. *Rahat-u'l-Qulub*, (MS).
 6. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 80.
 7. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 53.

he used to tell his disciples, "do not pay any attention to the princes."¹ The following verses composed by one of the earliest Chishti saints of India throw considerable light on the attitude of the *silsilah* towards the rulers and the bureaucracy:²

تاکی بدر امیر و سلطان رفتن این نیست مگر بر پی شیطان رفتن
در خرقة پشم بودن و نان جوین خوردن به ازان که نزد ایشان رفتن

ای یار مرو بر در سلطان و وزیر بر پای نه این نفس دنی را رنجیر
سلطان و وزیر تا شتابند بتو این هر دو بمان و در نه یزدان گیر

It is said that Balban had great faith in Baba Farid³. But his respect or devotion could not, in any way, influence the saint's outlook or policy towards the Sultan. Once a man, who was in great distress, requested him to write a letter of recommendation to Sultan Balban. It was not the Shaikh's practice to write recommendatory letters to the rulers or the officials but when the person insisted, he wrote to Balban⁴:

"I referred his matter first to God and then to you. If you will grant anything to him, the real Giver is God but you will get the credit for it. If you do not give him anything, the real preventer is God and you are helpless in the matter."

Sher Khan, the famous warden of the marches, was not favourably disposed toward Baba Farid. He often spoke ill about him. The saint did not curse or condemn him but recited the couplet⁵:

افسوس که از حال مذت نیست خبر
انگه خبرت شود که افسوس خوری

(Alas ! you have no knowledge of my condition. When you will come to know, what will be the use of being sorry.)

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 75.

2. *Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi* II p. 45.

3. *Matlub-u't-Talibin*, (MS).

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72. For Arabic text of this letter, see Appendix A (VI).

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 221.

2. *Rejection of Jagirs*

The Chishti saints not only abstained from the society of kings and nobles, they rejected also their offers of *jagirs* and endowments. They thought that acceptance of such gifts would make them subservient to the royal wish and fetter the independence of their soul. They used to say:

شہ مارا دہ دھد ملت نہد
دازق ما دزق بی ملت دھد

(The king gives a village and holds us under an obligation; our Providence gives us our daily bread without placing any such obligation.)

When Iltutmish offered a *jagir* to Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, he declined to accept it¹. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri preferred to pass his days in poverty rather than accept anything from the Sultan². Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar's curt reply to Ulugh Khan's offer of villages was:

طالب این بسیار اند، بدیشان بدهی

(There are many who desire it; give it to them.)³

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya refused to accept the royal grants with the remark⁴:

اگر من ازین بابت قبول کنم مرد ماں چه گویند، شیخ در باغ
می رود، شیخ به تماشائی زرع و زمین می رود، زهی کاری که من کرده باشم

(If I accept this, the people would say: The Shaikh goes to the garden: he goes to enjoy the view of his land and cultivation. Are these acts proper for me?)

His instructions to his disciples were definite and clear on this point: "*Do not accept any village or stipend or favour from kings and officials. It is not permitted to a dervish.*"⁵

1. *Rahat-u'l-Qulub*, (MS). f. 35 (b).

2. See *supra*, p. 187

3 & 4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 99.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 295.

Not to speak of *jagirs*, even presents of kings and nobles were rarely and reluctantly accepted. Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki did not accept cash in coins from Malik Ikhtiyar-u'd-din Aibek¹. Shaikh Nur Turk declined to accept a bag full of gold coins sent by Razia². If they ever accepted anything, they took it with one hand and distributed it with the other. Baba Farid was so particular about distributing all that he received as *futuh* that he did not tolerate even a few hours' delay in its disbursement. A seventeenth century biographer of Shaikh Farid writes that once Balban sent a dish full of *tankahs* to the saint who accepted it after considerable reluctance and ordered Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq to distribute it among the poor and the needy. The sun had already set and it was getting dark but the Shaikh would not wait for the day. His *khanqah*, he used to say, was not a storehouse for royal gifts. In obedience to his instructions, the Maulana doled out all the money. He then brought a candle to see whether anything was still left. He found just one coin and put it in his cap to hand over to some needy person the next morning. When Baba Farid went to the mosque to lead the 'Isha (night) prayer, he realised that something was disturbing his mind. Three times he began his prayer but could not finish it. In great excitement he asked Maulana Badr-u'd-din if he had distributed the royal gift. The Maulana replied that he had given away all excepting one coin. Baba Farid angrily took back that coin and threw it away, and then peacefully led the prayer. 'Ali Ashgar Chishti further informs us that throughout the whole of that night Baba Farid deeply regretted having touched that coin³. Though not recorded by earlier authorities, this story is in conformity with the traditions of the Chishti *silsilah*⁴. It was the practice at the *jama'at khanah* of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya that on every Friday everything in store was given away to the poor and the house was cleared and swept.⁵

The early Chishti saints persistently told their disciples that resignation and contentment alone guaranteed human happiness. Cupidity and ambition debased a man's spiritual faculties and made him subservient to worldly powers. Only those who rose above worldly temptations developed their personalities to full moral and spiritual stature. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once narrated a very significant story in this connection: "There

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 161.

3. *Jawahir-i-Faridi* (MS).

4. A saint, Khwaja Karim, did not touch coin after taking up *faqiri*—*Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 11.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 131

was a saint who was known as Shaikh 'Ali. One day he was sewing his *khirqah* (patched garment) with his legs stretched out that the *khalifah* arrived. He did not move from his place as he asked him to come in. The *khalifah* entered (the room) and sat down after offering the compliments. The Shaikh returned the compliment. The *hajib* who was in attendance of the *khalifah* said: "Shaikh! fold your legs". The Shaikh paid no heed to it. Twice or thrice the *hajib* repeated this. When the *khalifah* and his *hajib* were about to leave, the Shaikh caught hold of their hands and said: "I have shut my hands and therefore I need not fold my legs."¹

3. Rejection of Government Service:

Equally strong was the condemnation of government service by the Chishti saints. "No *shughl*" was the explicit order of the Shaikh and hardly anybody, who had decided to dedicate himself to spiritual work, dare transgress it. The Shaikh dealt with the offenders very severely. Sometimes he cancelled an offender's *khilafat namah*, at others, he expelled him from the mystic fraternity². They firmly believed that government service tainted one's spiritual qualities and rendered him incapable of any higher spiritual work. God and Mammon, they said, could not be served simultaneously. One whose hands and feet moved at royal bidding could not 'have a soul of his own'³. Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki emphatically declined to accept the distinction of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*⁴, though he had a soft corner for Iltutmish. Another contemporary mystic, Shaikh Hasan, resorted to an interesting subterfuge in order to keep away from the administration. He turned mad in order to evade his appointment as *qazi*. When Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki came to know of his ailment, he remarked: "Shaikh Hasan is not mad, he is *dana* (wise)". Thereafter the saint came to be known as Shaikh Hasan *Dana*⁵.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya demanded from his elder disciples a definite promise to abstain from the service of kings⁶. His frequent exhortations in this respect went a long way in moulding the character of his disciples. Some years after his death, when Muhammad bin Tughluq desired to bind the saints to the state chariot, his disciples strongly opposed the policy

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 7-8.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 295-296.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya took back the *khilafat namah* from Qazi Muhi-u'd-din Kashani the moment he found him inclined towards government service.

3. *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XX, p. 136.

4. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 21

5. *Rauzat-u'l-Aqtab*, p. 84.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 204-205.

of the Sultan. Three of his elder disciples—Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh, Maulana Shams-u'd-din Yahya and Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Munawwar—withstood the threats of the Sultan with a courage and determination that elicited universal praise.

It may be pointed out in this context that these restrictions were imposed upon those disciples only who were given patents of spiritual authority (*khilafat namahs*) and were asked to lead others on the mystic path. The ordinary disciples were not so firmly warned against government service. In fact they were permitted some sort of *shughl*. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh permitted services which did not interrupt a man's devotion to God. Hamid Qalandar thus records the proceedings of one of his meetings: "A Mulla *danishmand* entered the *majlis* and loudly accosted the Shaikh. The Khwaja talked to the Mulla and enquired about his welfare. 'Throughout the day,' said the Mulla, 'I remain in the *diwan* and find no leisure from the execution of orders, etc. Pray for my welfare.' 'One who does good to mankind,' replied the Shaikh, 'is not harmed by serving in the Civil Departments.' Later on the Shaikh narrated a long story in the fashion of his spiritual master, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, and brought home to the Mulla the possibility of attending to the health of his soul even while engaged in government service. 'A man may do', he told his audience, 'the work he be engaged in, government service or other worldly pursuits, but he should never give his tongue rest from reciting His Name (ذکر). Whether standing, sitting or lying he should pray to God, as enjoined by the Quran.'"¹ This conditional permission to join government service was given to ordinary disciples only. To the mystics of higher order nothing of this sort was allowed.

Sometimes it is very pertinently asked: How was it that Amir Khusrau, the most cherished disciple of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, spent all his life in courts and camps while his spiritual mentor had such dislike for government service? It may be pointed out in this connection that apart from the saint's personal regard and affection for the poet, Khusrau was not a mystic of higher order². He was not given the patent of spiritual authority (*khilafat namah*) which alone barred a disciple from government service.

1. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 12-13; also 122.

2. Once in an audition-party, presided over by the great Shaikh, Amir Khusrau rose up in an ecstasy of joy, common among the mystics while hearing *sama'*. The Shaikh objected to this and said. "You are connected with the world; you are not permitted to rise up." *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 506.

Early Chishti records contain innumerable moral precepts for the general public, but hardly anything for the rulers or the bureaucracy. In fact they were not very welcome visitors to the *khanqahs*. "Why do these people waste the time of this *faqir*," Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya had once protested¹. However, the following two observations of the Chishti saints are of great political significance:

ملک بوزیر خدا ترس ضبط کن²

(Entrust the country to a God-fearing *wazir*)

حضرت رسالت صلی اللہ علیہ و سلم می فرماید اگر پیر زنی در بلاد مملکت بفاقت بخسپد، روز قیامت امانا و صدقنا دامن والی خود بگیرد³

(The Prophet [blessing of God be upon him] says that if any old woman goes to bed hungry in any town of a kingdom, she would hold the collar of the ruler on the Day of Judgment which is sure to come.)

Suhrawardi attitude towards the State

Contrary to the traditions of other mystic *silsilahs*, the Suhrawardi saints consorted with kings and put forward the following arguments in support of their attitude :

I: Visits to royal courts provided them with opportunities to help the poor people by getting their grievances redressed by the Sultan⁴. Once, on being asked about the purpose of his visit to Delhi, Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari said:

"I did not undertake this journey to Delhi for the sake of fame or worldly fortune. (The reason was) that the son of a teacher of mine told me: 'Your teacher died leaving behind seven daughters. The Sultan of Delhi and the dignitaries of the State have faith in you. You should go there and collect from these people something for me so that, through your kind help, I might arrange for their marriages.' I have come to Delhi with this purpose; otherwise, what has a *dervish* got to do with the society of rich people and nobles."⁵

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 131.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 77.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 41.

4. Ahmad Yadgar informs us that Shaikh Sama-u'd-din had once written to Jamali:

فقرا را از صحبت پادشاهان بسی فائده دنیا است که مهم چندی مسکینان
بوسیله آن فیصل یابد

Tarikh-i-Shahi, p. 48.

5. *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah*, ff 129a,b.

It is said about Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din that whenever he left his residence for the court, people gathered round him in large numbers and filled his *dolah* (palanquin) with petitions to be handed over to the Sultan with recommendations for sympathetic consideration.¹

II: They believed that by establishing personal contact with the rulers they could bring about a change in their outlook. They did not find any valid justification for excluding the kings from their programme of spiritual uplift. Their anxiety to guide and guard the conscience of the rulers against wayward ideas was based on their conviction that the life of the people was inseparably connected with a ruler's thought, behaviour and convictions. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya informs us: "Once Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi came to know about a philosopher's visit to the Khalifah. On hearing this the Shaikh at once left for the court. (He said) if the Khalifah is attracted towards philosophy, the world would darken and heresy would spread."²

Drawing his inspiration from the Quranic verse: "*Obey Allah, obey His Prophet and obey those with authority amongst you,*" Shaikh Najib-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir Suhrawardi exhorted his disciples to be full of reverence towards the rulers and abstain totally from finding faults with them³. He was of the opinion that rebellion against a ruler—even if he be cruel and unjust towards his people—was not permitted⁴. Close as he was to the 'Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, he based his views about *khilafat* on the principle of 'Legitimacy' and declared in unequivocal terms: "The Sufis do not consider any family qualified for *Khilafat* except the *Quresh*. They say that it is not permitted for anybody to quarrel with the *Quresh* or oppose them on the question of *Khilafat*⁵."

Probably no saint of the Suhrawardi *silsilah* has explained his views *vis-a-vis* the State with such candidness and clarity as Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 138-139.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p 41.

It may be noted that the Shaikh's book *Kashf-un-Nasa'ih* is a polemical work directed against the study of Greek philosophy. "In it", writes S. Van Den Bergh, "Suhrawardi gives, on the model of the Kalam and of Ghazzali, a criticism of the hellenising philosophers but reveals a much inferior comprehension of philosophy to that of the author of the *Tahafat*." *The Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 506.

3. *Adab-u'l-Muridin* (Urdu translation, Muslim Press Delhi, 1319 A.H.) pp. 46-47.

4. *Adab-u'l-Muridin* , p. 5.

5. *Adab-u'l-Muridin*, p. 5.

Bukhari. Notwithstanding his close contact with the kings and the bureaucracy, he criticised their court life and the sources of their income. But there was a contradiction in his thought which was probably due to his spiritual affiliation with both the Chishtis and the Suhrawardis who held diametrically opposite views on political matters. At one place in *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah* he thus exalts the rulers and exhorts his disciples to obey the political authority implicitly and faithfully:

The rulers of the world are the 'chosen' of God, the Almighty. Under no conditions showing disrespect to them or disobeying their orders is proper or permitted in *Shari'at*. It is for this reason that God has committed to their care so many prayers and religious services e.g., Friday prayers, Eid prayers, control of the Public Treasury... Opposing their commandments, openly or secretly, is not permitted. O careless fellow ! Thou (whom the Sultan gives) villages, rewards and territories etc., why do you not help the king in (getting over) the difficulties that come in his way, and (why) do you not meet his enemies with anger? If thou does not do all this, it is unlawful for thee to eat or accept all these means of livelihood. Tomorrow on the Day of Judgment you shall be severely punished for this. The Prophet has said: "*Whoever obeys the Sultan, obeys God and whoever obeys God attains salvation.*"

But on another occasion he criticised the rulers for their court etiquettes and customs¹ and, in reply to a person who wanted to know whether taking meals with them was permitted or not, declared:

"در فتاوی خانی مذکور است که مکروه است طعام ملوک و سلاطین خوردن، سبب آنکه اغلب وجوهات ایشان را ام روز از مال ظلم و تعدی است - چنانکه مال دلالت بازارها، و مال جزاری، و مال امیر مطربی، و مال جکری غله و مال حاصل کیلان، و مال حبه ستدن، و مال خماران و مال بگنی گران ستدن، و مال ماهی فروشان، و مال سبزی و ترة فروشان، و مال لمبره یعنی اخراجات، و نسبت و قسمت، و مال صابون گران ستدن، و مال مصادرة فروشان و مال گل فروشان، و مال جزائی و مال مرده ستدن و مال غائبی از دیگران ستدن، بانفاق علماء دین اسلام این احوال حرام است بغیر اختلاف، و بر ملوک زمانه اکثر این وجوهات است، ازان سبب طعام و شراب ایشان خوردن حرام است"²

1. *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah* (MS) f 19b (where table manners are criticised); ff 20b-21a (where some sacrifices are declared illegal.)

2. *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah*, (MS), ff 33a-33b.

"It is recorded in *Fatawa-i-Khani* that it is abominable to eat the food of *maliks* and *sultans*. The reason is that most of their revenues these days are derived from sources which are based on tyranny and oppression, e.g. the income from: *Dalalat-i-Bazarha*, *Jazari*, *Amir Mutrabi*, *Jikri Ghalla*, *Hasil-i-Kayyalan*, *Habba*, *Khumaran*, *Bagnigaran*, *Mahi-faroshan*, *Sabzi wa Tara faroshan*, *Lamabra*, *Nisbat wa Qismat*, *Sabun-garan*, *Musadrah faroshan*, *Gulfaroshan*, *Jazai*, the property of the dead and the property placed in another's custody.¹ All Muslim jurists are unanimously of the opinion that all money from these sources is illegal. Since the present rulers get money from these sources, eating and drinking with them is prohibited."²

It is significant that Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din considered all Muslim rulers after the Pious Caliphs to be *malik-i-'uzuz* (i.e. rulers who had forcibly acquired and retained power).³

The contemporary records do not tell us anything about the arguments put forward by the Suhrawardi saints in support of their practice of hoarding wealth. Their discussions on this subject, though too frequent, were more in the nature of retorts and repartees to the critics rather than a coherent and well-argued exposition of their point of view on a highly controversial issue. Shaikh Rukn-u'd-din Multani is reported to have remarked that since all sorts of people visited a saint, it was absolutely necessary for him to possess three things: (i) money, (ii) learning and (iii) spiritual ability. With the first he could help those who thronged round him in need of money; with the second he could solve the problems of scholars; and with the third he could satisfy those who came to him for spiritual help and guidance⁴.

1. On the margin of the Ms, it is explained as *حواله وکفایه*

2. Some of the taxes referred to above have been thus explained :—

Dalalat-i-Bazarha : The *Futuhāt-i-Firoz Shahi* refers to this tax. Dr. I. H. Qureshi considers it to be a tax on brokers. Prof. Hodivala explains it as 'the brokerage on the transactions in the market.' *Jazari* : 'Afif refers to the abolition of this tax. This tax was levied from butchers at the rate of 12 *jitals* per head on cows for slaughter. *Mal-i-Amir-i-Mutrabi*: (Probably this is the same tax which is referred to as *Amir-i-Tarab* in the *Futuhāt*.) It was amusement tax, probably paid to the *Amir-i-Tarab* appointed by the State to control festive gatherings. *Jakari-Ghalla*: It probably refers to octroi on grains and cereals. *Hasil-i-Kayalan*: Tax realized from the *kayyals* (measurer of grain, weighmen). *Mal-i-Habba*: On the margin of the MS *مال حبہ سندن* is explained thus:

حبہ بر پیشانی زدن و نزد آب آمدن

Mal-i-Khumaran: Tax on vintners and wine merchants. *Mal-i-Bagni-garan*: Tax on sellers of *bagni* (malt-liquor). *Mal-i-Mahi faroshan*: (It has been referred to in the *Futuhāt* also). Tax on the sale of fish. *Mal-i-Sabzi wa Tarra faroshan*: Tax on the sale of vegetables. *Mal-i-Sabun-garan*: Tax on soap-making. For a discussion of the circumstances under which Firoz Shah Tughluq remitted these taxes, see my book *Salatin-i-Delhi kay mazhabi Rājhanat* (Religious Trends of the Sultans of Delhi) pp. 420-423.

3. *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah* (MS) f. 16b. The saint was inspired by the following tradition of the Prophet: "The *Khilafat* shall remain for 30 years after me. Later it would degenerate into *malik-i-'uzuz*." For a discussion of this *hadith*, see *Izalat-u'l-Khifa*, Shah Waliullah, p. 8 *et seq.*

4. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 56.

But these arguments carried little weight with their Chishti contemporaries who condemned all contact with the State as contamination and looked upon accumulation of wealth as a negation of the true spirit of *tawakkul* (trust in God).

The tradition of mixing with rulers and taking part in political affairs was established by the early Suhrawardi saints. The founder of the *silsilah*, Shaikh Najib-u'd-din 'Abdul Qahir, had intimate relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad. His presence at some of the coronation ceremonies is recorded in contemporary accounts.¹ Caliphs, Sultans, nobles and government officers, besides a very large number of 'ulama and common people, visited his *ribat* and attended his lectures. The Shaikh knew how to maintain his dignity *vis-a-vis* worldly powers and he never compromised with anybody on matters of principle. He resigned the Principalship of the Nizamiyah Madrasah because of the application of the law of escheat on the property of a boarder. Imam Subki informs us that so great was his prestige that if any body sought shelter in his *ribat* he could not be forcibly taken away even by a Caliph or a Sultan². When the Shaikh visited Syria, Sultan Nur-u'd-din Mahmud Zangi (1146-1173 A.D.) accorded a hearty welcome to him and he stayed there for sometime as a royal guest³. His sermons raised the morale of the armies recruited to fight the Christian powers at a very critical moment in the history of Islam.

Living decently and well was also a well-established tradition of the Suhrawardi *silsilah*. Shaikh Najib-u'd-din used to ride a camel with great éclat⁴. Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din, however, says that his master was not very particular about his dress, who would "put on an expensive turban of ten *dinars* and of ten *dangs* (i.e. a cheap one) too."⁵

Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din followed the ways and traditions of his spiritual teacher. He preached in Baghdad under court patronage. Besides, on one occasion, he performed the onerous duties of an ambassador of Baghdad to

1. *Tarikh-i-Kamil*, Vol. XII, p 12.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Kubra*, Vol. IV, p. 256.

3. *Wafayat-u'l-A'yan*, Ibn Khallikan, Vol. I, p. 299.

4. Shah Shu'aib Fridausi writes:

لباس علماء پوشیدنی و بر اشتهر سوار شدی و غاشیه پیهی او بدرمی گرفتند...
و طهاسان در برکردی

Manaqib-u'l-Asfiya (Calcutta 1895) p. 99.

5. *'Awarij-u'l-Ma'arif* (Arabic Text) Vol. II, p. 35.

the court of Irbal¹. The nature and extent of his contact with the rulers may be gauged from the fact that he dedicated his works, '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*' and '*Kashf-un-Nasaih-u'l-imaniya wa Kashf-u'l-Fada'ih-u'l-Yumaniya*', to the Caliph al-Nasir (575-622 A.H./1180-1225 A.D.). This dedication of a mystic work to a ruler was indeed unique in the annals of Muslim mysticism.² It is even more surprising that in his later work he has quoted some traditions of the Prophet on the authority of al-Nasir³.

The Shaikh helped the 'Abbasid Caliphs in critical moments. When the Khwarazm Shah invaded Baghdad, he went out to dissuade him from attacking the city. The author of *Rauzat-us-Safa* writes:

شیخ بطریق سلامت سلام کرد و بادشاه از غایت نخوت جواب داد ...
شیخ همچنان برپائی ایستاده به عربی خطبه بلیغ فصیح خواند و سخنان مائل
به زبان داند⁴

The Shaikh accosted the Padshah in the manner of the Prophet. The Padshah replied with great haughtiness..... The Shaikh remained standing on his feet and addressed him in eloquent Arabic and tried to dissuade him (from proceeding further).

These traditions determined the attitude of the Suhrawardi saints of India towards the State. The early Turkish Sultans stood in need of the support of the religious classes in order to consolidate their power and build up an integrated and compact polity in India. When Iltutmish ascended the throne of Delhi, he tried to employ as many religious men as compatible with the efficiency of the administration. Since the Chishtis were not prepared to associate themselves with the government, the Sultan turned towards the Suhrawardis who extended full support and co-operation to him and accepted the posts of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*⁶ and *Sadr-i-Wilayat*⁷.

(i) *Suhrawardi support in extension of political power:*

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya had set up his *khanqah* in Multan at a very critical period of Indian history. Aibek's sudden death was followed

1. '*Ulama-i-Salaf*', Nawab Habib-ur-Rahaman Khan Sherwani, p. 112.

2. Abul Ghalib Tamman b. Ghalib (ob. 1044 A.D.) wrote a book on lexicography. Mujahid b. 'Abdullah sent him one thousand coins and requested him to dedicate it to him. He refused saying: "I won't do it even if you give me the whole world." *Ibn Khallikan*, Vol. I, p. 97.

3. *The Ency. of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 506.

4. *Rauzat-u's-Safa*, Vol. IV, p. 118.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 212.

6. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 169.

7. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 28.

by a mad race for political power among the Turkish nobles and slave-officers and, consequently, Hindustan was parcelled out into four principalities: Lakhnauti was held by the Khalji Malik, Delhi and its contiguous territory was in the possession of Iltutmish; Sind was governed by Nasir-u'd-din Qubacha and Lahore and Ghaznin were controlled by Yildiz. Iltutmish's attempt to unify the empire brought him into conflict with the Turkish officers of Shihab-u'd-din who challenged his claims to kingship.

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din Zakariyya, though living under Qubacha, supported Iltutmish in extending his political prestige and authority. He joined Sharf-u'd-din, the Qazi of Multan, in his plan to overthrow Qubacha's power and wrote a letter to Iltutmish, probably inviting him to invade Multan. This letter was intercepted by Qubacha who summoned the Shaikh and the Qazi to his presence. Placing this letter before the Shaikh, Qubacha asked: "Have you written this letter?" "Yes", frankly confessed the Shaikh, "I have written this letter, and this is my handwriting." "Why did you write it?" asked Qubacha. "Whatever I wrote" replied the Shaikh, "was under divine guidance (*az haq*). You do whatever you can. (And for the matter of that) what is in your hands?" Qubacha was nonplussed. He ordered meal to be served. The Shaikh did not like taking food at any body's house. Qubacha knew it but he thought that his refusal to partake food would provide him with another excuse for punishing him. Contrary to the expectations of Qubacha, the Shaikh partook of the food from the dishes served. Qubacha's fury was cooled and he allowed the Shaikh to return home¹. The poor Qazi, being a government servant, had to pay the usual penalty for treason; the Shaikh escaped scot-free. Medieval biographers have attributed the Shaikh's escape from punishment to his spiritual powers, but the fact is that the reasons were more political than spiritual. The Shaikh was immensely popular with the people of Multan. His execution would have incited rebellion in the newly-acquired territories of Sind and would have afforded Iltutmish a plea for marching into Multan. It was, indeed, this fear of political and popular reactions that prevented Qubacha from taking any action against the Shaikh. Popular imagination attributed to mysterious and miraculous powers what was apparently the result of political expediency.

Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, our earliest authority for this incident, does not give any reasons for the Shaikh's ill-will towards Qubacha. He simply remarks:²

در آنچه قباچه راج ملتان داشت و سلطان شمس الدین
در دهلی بود و میان ایشان مخاصمتی پیدا شد

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 119-120;

Siyar-u'l-'Arifin, p. 131.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 119.

(When Qubacha ruled over Multan and Sultan Shams-u'd-din was in Delhi, there arose a hostility between them i.e., the Shaikh and Qubacha.)

From what Jamali has mentioned about the incident it may be inferred that the Shaikh was definitely pro-Iltutmish in his attitude and had deliberately taken such a risk. His sympathy for Iltutmish was probably due to the latter's early contact with the Suhrawardi saints in Baghdad.

Ferishtah's remark¹ that Qubacha's failure to enforce the laws of *Shari'at* (عدم رواج شریعت) was the cause of estrangement is not supported by earlier authorities and may be dismissed as an invention of Ferishtah's ingenious mind.

With such strong and influential supporters in Multan as Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya, Iltutmish could hardly allow that territory to remain in the hands of an adversary. He marched towards Multan at the head of a large army. Qubacha entrenched himself in the fortress of Bhakkar but was soon forced by unfavourable circumstances to send his son 'Ala-u'd-din Mas'ud Bahram Shah to treat with the Sultan. The young plenipotentiary was arrested and Qubacha, disheartened by the detention of his son, tried to escape but was drowned in the Indus (1227 A.D.)².

With Iltutmish's annexation of Multan, a long cherished desire of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya was fulfilled. He now established close personal contact with the Sultan whose religious leanings³ always endeared him to such people. Besides, the Shaikh accepted the honorific title of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam*. Jamali informs us that this office continued in the family of the Shaikh till his own time (circa 1535 A.D.)⁴.

It may, however, be noted that in spite of his close contact with Iltutmish, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din did not meddle in the struggles for succession

1. *Ferishtah* (II, p. 406) says:

در رواج شرع مصدق نیز نکوشیده و متعلقانش فسق و فجور آغاز کردند

(He did not strive in enforcing the *Shari'at* and his relations started indulging in sins and irreligious acts). Jamali does not bring this charge against him. He simply says that Qubacha was of harsh nature (مزاج درشت داشت) *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 114.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 144.

3. Vide my article "*Iltutmish, the mystic*," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XX, No. 2, April, 1946, pp. 165-180.

4. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 169.

Shaikh-u'l-Islam was both an office and a title during the Sultanate period. For the duties of the office, see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 179-180.

or the baronial conspiracies which followed the Sultan's death. Sagacious and farsighted as he was, he did not pursue the hazardous career of a politician and kept himself completely out of the vortex of politics.

(ii) *Suhrawardi support in dealing with the Mongol Problem:*

The Mongols constituted one of the most baffling problems of Indian politics in the 13th century. Their repeated incursions into the Indian territory were a source of perennial distress to the people. The Sultans of Delhi strained every nerve to meet the situation but sometimes they found themselves utterly helpless in the face of these nomadic hordes that poured into the country like ants and locusts. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya co-operated with the administration in dealing with the Mongol menace. In 644 A.H./1246 A.D. when the Mongols besieged Multan and the ruler of Harat made a common cause with them, the Shaikh interceded for the town and saved it from destruction. Saif b. Muhammad Harawi gives the following account of this siege and the Shaikh's part in averting the crisis:

"When the year 644 H. commenced, Malik Shams-u'd-din and Sali Nuyin marched towards Hindustan. On reaching Multan, they laid siege to the city. The governor of Multan, Chengiz Khan, was among the slaves of Sultan Shams-u'd-din. On the 14th day, Chengiz Khan sent Shaikh-ul-Islam Qutb-i-Auliya Baha-u'l-Haq wa'd-din Zakariyya to Malik Shams-u'd-din to (intercede on his behalf and) persuade him to accept money and raise the siege. Shaikh-u'l-Islam Baha-u'l-Haq wa'd-din came to the Gate of the Blacksmiths and called on Malik Shams-u'd-din. The Malik came to the Gate escorted by ten soldiers and met the Shaikh. It was the day of 'Eid-uz-Zuha. The Shaikh embraced the Malik and recited the couplet :

"Now it is 'Eid for me that I have seen your face. My work is accomplished as soon as I reached you."

...The Malik went to Sali Nuyin and reached the agreement that Chengiz Khan should send one hundred thousand *dinars* and Sali Nuyin would then effect his retreat. The next day Shaikh-u'l-Islam Baha-u'l-Haq wa'd-din came out of the city with one hundred thousand *dinars* in cash and delivered them to Sali Nuyin. Chengiz Khan sent royal presents for Malik-i-Islam Shams-u'd-din through the Shaikh-u'l-Islam."¹

It may be noted that Minhaj-u's-Siraj has not referred to this invasion of Sali Nuyin.²

1. *Tarikh-Nama-i-Harat*, Saif b. Muhammad b. Yaqub Harawi (Calcutta 1944), pp. 157-158.

2. Cf. Raverty, Trans. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 677, note and p. 1201 note.

Means of Livelihood

Muslim mystics of the middle ages permitted only two means of livelihood to their senior disciples : *ihya*¹ (cultivation of waste land) and *futuh*² (unasked for charity). They preferred *futuh* to cultivation because it ensured greater freedom of action and minimized chances of coming into contact with the *diwan* (the revenue department). A cultivator, they said, could not be free from the control of the revenue officers and the tax-collectors. Most of the medieval mystics, therefore, lived on *futuh*, but they laid down the following conditions under which they could accept it:

- (i) The mystic should, first, surrender himself completely to God. He should give up faith in 'means' and look to God as his immediate as well as ultimate sustainer.
- (ii) There should not be any desire, direct or indirect, for *futuh* in the heart of a mystic.
- (iii) All gifts in the form of immovable property—villages, orchards, land, etc.—should be firmly rejected.
- (iv) If there are any strings attached to a gift, it should not be accepted.
- (v) No regular or guaranteed payments should be accepted.
- (vi) *Futuh* should not be hoarded. It should be distributed as soon as it is received.

Strict enforcement of these rules saved *futuh* from degenerating into a parasitic institution. Since it entailed grave hardships in the initial stages, only those who were endowed with extraordinary mental and moral qualities could choose it as their means of livelihood.

Considered as a whole, the mystic attitude towards livelihood grew out of the following three basic concepts:

- (i) Subsistence of every living being is divinely apportioned, as the *Quran* says:³

“And in heaven is
Your sustenance, as (also)

1. According to Muslim jurists waste land if developed by a person became his property. Mawardi quotes the following *hadis*: “The lands which come from ‘Ad (*‘adi al arz*) belong to God and His Prophet, then they are given to you (i.e. the Muslims) from me.”

See also, *Muhammadian Theories of Finance*. p. 503 et seq.

2. See ‘*Awarif-u’l-Ma‘arif* Chapter XX, pp. 180-192; *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 40-41; *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 560-561; *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwal* (MS).

3. *Quran* S. 51: 22-23.

That which ye are promised.
 Then, by the Lord
 Of heaven and earth,
 This is the very Truth,
 As much as the fact
 That ye can speak,
 Intelligently to each other."

Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri approvingly quotes a mystic who used to say: "I know that my daily bread is apportioned to me, and will neither be increased nor diminished; consequently I have ceased to seek to augment it."¹

(ii) Human needs, as well as desires, should be reduced to the minimum. "The more straitened one is in circumstances, the more expansive (cheerful and happy) is one's (spiritual) state, because it is unlucky for a *dervish* to have property; if he "imprisons" anything (*dar band kunad*) for his own use, he himself is "imprisoned" in the same proportion. . . . Worldly wealth holds them back from the path of quietism (*riza*)."²

(iii) Fasting is one half of faith³. Constant fasting enables man to rise above earthly ties and conquer the animal in him.

Working out their whole philosophy of subsistence on the basis of these principles, the medieval Muslim mystics classified *rizq* into the following four categories⁴ and discovered Quranic sanctions for their attitude:

- (i) *Rizq-i-Mazmun*, i.e., basic necessities of life, like food and water. God is responsible for supplying them to every living being—man and animal. The *Quran* refers to *rizq-i-mazmun* when it says:

"There is no moving creature
 On earth but its sustenance
 Dependeth on God: He knoweth
 The time and place of its
 Definite abode and its
 Temporary deposit:
 All is in a clear Record."⁵

1. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 13.

2. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 20.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 75.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 102.

5. *Quran*, S. 9: 6.

- (ii) *Rizq-i-Maqsum*, i.e., the subsistence which has already been allotted to human beings at the time of creation and is recorded on *Lauh-i-Mahfuz*.
- (iii) *Rizq-i-Mamluk*, i.e., private property—money, clothes, etc.
- (iv) *Rizq-i-Mau'ud*, i.e., subsistence which God has promised to the pious people, as the *Quran* says:

“And He provides for him
From (sources) he never
Could imagine.”¹

Trust in God (*tawakkul*) was permitted only for *rizq-i-mazmun*. Since a mystic wanted nothing more than bare subsistence—which is guaranteed by God to all His creatures—it was futile to hanker after it.²

It should be remembered in this context that the teaching of *tawakkul* in *rizq-i-mazmun* and *futuh* was confined to those senior disciples alone who were determined to dedicate their lives to the service of Allah and who could say:

و کلمت الی المحبوب امری کله فان شاء احيانی و ان شاء اتلفا

(I have surrendered myself to the Beloved. He may sustain me or kill me.)

To others, the advice of the Shaikh was always for *kasb* (some means of earning livelihood). Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh very clearly stated the Chishti view point on this subject when he said: “There are two disciplines—one prescribed for the initiated and the other for the novices. For the select few the injunction was to shut their doors and pray to God; for the general run of men the instruction was to go out and earn a livelihood by dint of labour.”³ Again and again he exhorted his disciples not “to eat their religion”; in other words piety is not to be exploited for worldly ends

1. *Quran*, S. 65: 3.

2. A mystic poet says:

بشغل جهان رنج بردن چه سود که روزی بکوشش نیاید فزود
بدنبال روزی نیاید دوید تو بدشین که روزی خود آید پدید

The apocryphal *malfuz*, *Asrar-u'l-Auliya*, correctly records the mystic attitude when it says: •

ای درویش متوکلان این راه هرگز غم و اندوه دزدی و غیر او ندارد
سبب آنکه در روز ازل مقسوم شده است، خواهد رسید (f. 28 b)

3. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 80.

or to avoid labour. As was his habit, he narrated numerous stories to bring home to his audience the value of *kasb*¹. In some of these stories he has illustrated his point that *kasb* (some trade or profession) and *derveshi* are not incompatibles. They go hand in hand provided a man takes care of his soul and does not lose himself in the pursuit and enjoyment of wealth. Once he said that the *abdals* earned their bread by selling grass.² At several places in his *malfuzat* he praises the teaching profession and commends to his disciples the vocation of trade.

The impression that these mystics discouraged the active pursuit of any vocation and thereby created a class of social parasites is based on a misunderstanding of the actual facts. Excepting those who were entrusted with higher spiritual work, all others were exhorted to earn their 'bread' with the sweat of their brow. What the mystics feared was that a man might think that subsistence was received from the man under whom he worked. This, they believed, led to the weakening of faith in the omnipotence of God. One must work for a living but must believe in God as the ultimate source of his livelihood and man as a mere agent of God. Such an attitude, they believed, led to independence of mind and fostered self-respect. Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri remarks:

"If He makes a creature the means of giving you daily bread, do not regard that creature, but consider that the daily bread which God has caused to come to you does not belong to him but to God. If he thinks that it is his, and that he is thereby conferring a favour upon you, do not accept it. In the matter of daily bread one person does not confer upon another any favour at all, because, according to the opinion of the orthodox, daily bread is food (*ghiza*), although the Mu'tazilites hold it to be property (*milk*); and God, not any created being, nourishes mankind with food."³

Contribution to Indian Society and Culture

"From the 13th century," remarks Professor Gibb, "Sufism increasingly attracted the creative social and intellectual energies within the community, to become the bearer or instrument of a social and cultural revolution."⁴ Perhaps in no other country were the effects of this social and cultural revolution so marked and so far reaching as in India.

1. e.g. see *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 277, where the Shaikh is reported to have remarked

لَقْمَةُ كَسْبٍ نِيَكُو لَقْمَةُ اِسْتِ

(Livelihood earned through labour is good livelihood)

2. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 277.

3. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, p. 106.

4. *Journal of World History*, Vol. I, No. 1: "An Interpretation of Islamic History," p. 59.

The general impression that the Muslim saints came to India in the wake of the Ghurid conquering armies is incorrect and misleading. Long before Shihab-u'd-din or his Turkish slave-officers overran the country, many Muslim saints had established their mystic centres in northern India. The Hindu society was then passing through one of the most critical phases of its history. The caste system had deprived it of that dynamic energy which sustains societies in times of crises and makes them respond to new situations and new challenges. The idea of physical contamination had further weakened its social fabric. All amenities of civic life were denied to non-caste people who constituted the majority of the Indian population. They could not stay in the cities after sunset. They had no access to the temples and no sacred texts could be heard or recited by them. A careful analysis of the sites of the *khanqahs* of the early Indo-Muslim mystics would reveal the fact that most of them were established outside the caste cities in the midst of the lower sections of the Indian population. The unassuming ways of the mystics, their broad human sympathies and the classless atmosphere of their *khanqahs* attracted these despised sections of Indian society to its fold. Here they found a social order entirely different from their own. All discriminations and distinctions which the Hindu society had imposed upon them had no meaning here. All lived, slept and ate together. The sacred Book was open and accessible to all. Thus demonstrating the Islamic idea of *tauhid* as a working principle in social life, the medieval *khanqahs* became the spear-heads of Muslim culture.

The conquest of northern India by the Ghurids, no doubt, helped the mystics in extending the sphere of their work to the cities where previously caste taboos had prevented them from establishing their hospices, but it also added to their problems by exciting the fury and frown of a section of the Indian population. Since their own attitude towards political powers was one of indifference and nonchalance, all those who looked askance at the Turkish oligarchy, were naturally drawn towards them. Besides, their social outlook, which contrasted sharply with the attitude of the ruling classes, endeared them to the public. At a time when the country was resounding with the din and clatter of the arms of the Ghurids, the atmosphere of their humble dwellings acted as a corrective to the political hysteria of the period. They sat cool and collected in their *khanqahs* and taught lessons of human love and equality. The Turkish Sultans, puffed up with the Sassanid ideals of kingship, refused even to talk to low born persons but these saints threw open their *khanqahs* to all sorts of men—rich and poor, high and low, townsfolk and villagers, men and women. The distinction between the noble (*sharif*) and the low born (*razil*), which finds such a powerful exposition in

the *Adab-u'l-Harb* of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* of Zia Barani, was meaningless to the mystics.¹ The governing class looked upon education as the exclusive privilege of the upper strata of society and did not like it to spread among the lower classes. The mystics, on the other hand, fought against illiteracy. In fact, it was through their persistent struggle against caste concepts and class distinctions that the medieval Muslim mystics prevented the growth of the Indo-Muslim society on the perverted ideology of the governing class and held aloft the Islamic principles of equality and brotherhood. Balban might refuse to talk to low-born persons in his court, he could dismiss them if he so wished, but when he visited the cloisters and *khanqahs* of saints he must have realized that there were places in the Empire of Hindustan where his own position was not more exalted than that of any ordinary human being. Though within the political confines of the Sultanate of Delhi, the *jama 'at khanahs* of the early Chishti saints of India did not form a part of the Delhi Empire. They were a world of their own. The contamination of court life could not touch their spiritual serenity and classless atmosphere.

With the settlement of the Mussalmans in India, conciliation and concord between the various culture-groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social necessity. The conquerors had established their political supremacy by virtue of certain moral and physical qualities, but they could not continue to rule while the majority of their subjects differed from them in race, language, religion and culture. The conservative and reactionary theologians rarely appreciated the change in the moods of the time and seldom tried to reconstruct their religious thought according to the needs of the hour. The Muslim mystics, however, rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces which liquidated social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various culture-groups of India and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook.

A mind which failed to see any wisdom or truth in any way of life or thought except his own, was the greatest obstacle to the growth of syncretic tendencies. The early Indo-Muslim mystics adopted an attitude of sympathy and understanding towards all cults and creeds. They exhorted their co-religionists:

1. See *Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi* Vol. II pp. 164-165 for criticism and condemnation of all ideas of اصل و نسب

2. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri use to say:

هیچ صفتی در آدمی زشت تر از جهل نیست، هرچه هست علم است
هرکه علم نداند کوئی جمادی ست که از و هیچ کاری نباید
Sarur-u's-Sudur, (MS), p. 75.

ای کہ طعلہ زبت بہ ہلد و ہری
ہم آموز از وی پرستش کری

(O you who sneer at the idolatry of the Hindu,
Learn also from him how worship is done.)

This broad and cosmopolitan outlook helped in breaking that spirit of mistrust and isolation which honeycombed relations between the various culture-groups of India and paved way for *rapprochement* at all levels, social and ideological. Amir Khusrau who is, by far, the most powerful exponent of this attitude of medieval Muslim mystics, refers to Hindu customs and ceremonials¹ in a spirit which must have been instrumental in discovering the principles of essential unity between different religions. When he declares:

نہست ہندو ارچہ کہ دیندار چوما ہست بسی جائی باقرار چوما

(Though Hindu is not faithful like me
He often believes in the same thing as I do.)

he very neatly epitomizes the attitude of the early Indo-Muslim saints.

Unlike Alberuni who had studied Hindu religion at the philosophic level, the Muslim mystics desired to comprehend it at its psychological and emotional level. They were concerned more with emotional integration than with ideological synthesis which was a very slow process and touched only a limited section of intellectuals. Emotional integration was a more difficult venture but with surer results and on a larger scale. It is due to this basic fact that we find the early Muslim mystics more interested in Hindu religious *practices* than in the Hindu religious *thought*. Historians have often complained about the paucity of material for evaluating the nature and extent of the influence of Hindu mystic ideas on the Muslim

1. Note, for instance, his attitude towards *sati*, a Hindu custom according to which a widow burnt herself to ashes on the funeral pyre of her husband:

بعشق اربت یدستی دین پاک ست و گر طاعت کنی بے عشق خاک ست
نئی کم زان زن ہندو دریں کوئے کہ خود را زندہ سوزد از پئے شوے

Shirin-wa-Khusrau, p. 32.

زن ز پئی مرد بسوزد بہوس مرد ز بہر بت و یگا ملعم و بس
گرچہ در اسلام روا نیست چنین لیک چو بس کار بزرگست بہ بہن
گر بشریعت ہود ایں نوع روا جان بدہند اہل سعادت بہوا

Nuh Sipihr, p. 195.

mystics thought and *vice versa*. A comparative study of the Hindu and the Muslim mystic *practices* alone can fill this gap.

The eagerness of the Muslim mystics to establish closer relations with the Hindus and understand their religious life and thought facilitated the evolution of a common medium for the exchange of ideas. Since the earliest known sentences of the *Hindvi* language are found in the mystic records, the fact that the birth place of the Urdu language was the *khanqah* of the medieval *sufis*, can hardly be doubted.

The quintessence of mystic teachings in the thirteenth century was the Unity of Godhead and the brotherhood of man. The extent to which Hindu mind was moved by these principles may be gauged from an analysis of the Hindu religious movements of the subsequent centuries. The fact that the religious leadership of the Bhakti movement in the 14th and the 15th centuries came from the lower strata of Hindu society—a section which had been deeply influenced by the Muslim mystics and their *khanqah*-life—is too significant to be ignored. Probably never before in the long history of Hinduism, religious leaders had sprung from those strata of society to which Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Dhanna, Dadu and others belonged. There was hardly any saint of the Bhakti school who had not passed some of his time in a *khanqah*.

Another more significant aspect of the mystic contribution to Indian society deserves to be noted. The Urban Revolution, which had come in the wake of the establishment of Turkish power in India, had brought with it certain moral laxities and social vices, a necessary concomitant of culture-growth. A cursory glance through the pages of the *Qi'ran-u's-Sa'dain* of Amir Khusrau and the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia-u'd-din Barani gives an idea of the atmosphere that prevailed in Delhi after the death of Balban and before the advent of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji. The *khanqahs* acted as a counter-weight in maintaining the moral equilibrium of the medieval society. There is hardly any social or moral crime against which the contemporary mystics did not raise their voice—slavery, hoarding, black-marketing, profiteering, wine and venery.¹ Barani very significantly remarks that as the result of the teachings of these mystics:

معاصی میان مردمان کم شده بود²

(Vices among men had been reduced).

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 4, 40, 111-112, 116-117 etc.; *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS); *Jawami'-u'l-'Ulum* (MS).

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 344.

CHAPTER VIII

MUSLIM RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THOUGHT OF THE PERIOD

A study of the Indo-Muslim religious thought requires a careful survey of the religious literature read or produced in India during the period under review. On this basis alone can the conceptual frame-work of the medieval mind be discovered and analysed. But, if the higher religious ideology finds its expression in the literary productions of an age, the outlook of the common man is reflected in the festivals he celebrates and the superstitions he holds dear. An attempt has, therefore, been made to study the religious thought at both levels, higher and lower.

1. Religious Literature of the Period

Due to the unsettled political, economic and social conditions of 'Ajam during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, large number of scholars, poets, traditionists and administrators turned to India as a haven of refuge¹. They established the traditions of Muslim scholarship in this country and raised Delhi to the status of a second Baghdad and a second Cordova. The suddenness with which many towns of northern India rushed into prominence as centres of Muslim learning is a phenomenon inexplicable except with reference to the impact of these central Asian scholars. Their presence gave a fillip to literary activities and created such conditions that in Lahore a contemporary historian could consult one thousand books on such an abstruse subject as genealogy². Hasan Nizami remarks, in his characteristically hyperbolic manner, that religious learning had become so widespread that in Lahore alone out of every hundred persons ninety were scholars³. These scholars preserved the cultural heritage of medieval Islam.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166; *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 114-115; *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, p. 19; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 27; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 59.

2. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'din Mubarak Shah*, p. 66. Only a part of this book, named as *Bahr-u'l-Ansab*, has been published by Sir Denison Ross under the title: *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*. Evaluating the importance of this work in an article, Ross remarks about the author: "He speaks feelingly of the day and nights of strenuous labour which this cost him; but in the process he seems to have caught the genealogical fever and imposed upon himself the task of working out the trees of all the various famous men and dynasties of Islam. He tells us he spent twelve years in collecting these materials and another year in deciding how he should arrange his tables, and in copying them out." *'Ajab Namah*, p. 409.

3. *Taj-u'l-Ma'asir*, (MS).

Unfortunately the fruits of their literary activity have not reached us. Ravages of both man and moth destroyed a substantial portion of this literary output before it could reach us.

(a) *Extinct Religious Literature:*

A comprehensive list of the extinct religious literature of the period under review cannot be attempted for want of adequate information. Only works which have been referred to in contemporary or semi-contemporary literature may be noted here. Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan Saghani alone is reported to have produced the following works on *hadis*:

- (i) *Misbah-u'd-Duja min Sihah ahadis al-Mustafa*
- (ii) *Al-Shams al-Munirah*
- (iii) *Zubdat al-Manasik*
- (iv) *Kitab Darajat al-'Ilm wa'l-'Ulama*
- (v) *Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari*¹

In all probability the Maulana compiled these books outside India, but the contemporary records show that his works were read in India with keen interest².

Another Indian scholar who died in a foreign land was Shaikh Safi-u'd-din Muhammad b. 'Abdur Rahman (644-715/1246-1315)³. He wrote *Nihayat-u'l-Wusul-ila-'ilm-i'l-Usul* and *Al-Fa'iq fi Usul-i-din*⁴ on *fiqh* but these books have not survived.

Besides these works on *hadis* and *fiqh*, some valuable contributions on mysticism have also been lost. Particular reference in this connection may be made to the works of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri and Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri. The former left a book, *Usul-u't-Tariqat*, on the principles of mysticism, besides considerable epistolary literature and poetic compositions. This book was available to Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis (ob. 1642) who has given a fairly long extract from it in his *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*. The *Usul-u't-Tariqat*, it appears, contained an advanced and scholarly exposition of mystic thought⁵. Qazi Hamid-u'd-din's two works, *Lawa'ih* and *Tawali'*

1. *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, p. 251. It may be noted that a portion, if not the whole, of *Misbah-u'd-Duja* is incorporated in *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar*.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103; *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 284; *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), pp. 55, 72, 73.

3. For brief biographical account, see *al-Durar-u'l-Kaminah*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-15.

4. *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, p. 266.

5. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 30.

'*Shumus*¹—are extinct. It is, however, clear from medieval records that the Qazi's works were held in great respect in the higher academic circles of the country and some mystics taught his works to select disciples². Khwaja Zia-u'd-din, a disciple of Shaikh Sadr-u'd-din 'Arif of Multan (ob. 1285), is reported to have collected the sayings of his mystic teacher in *Kanz-u'l-Fawa'id*³. This work also does not seem to have survived. A seventeenth century hagiologist says that Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar had prepared a summary of '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif*⁴. If this information is correct, the work has not survived. Another important work, the *Wasiyat Namah* of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya⁵, which could have thrown valuable light on the religious attitude and ideals of the great Suhrawardi saint, has also perished.

(b) *Extant Religious Literature:*

The only work on exegesis which has reached us from the 13th century is a fragmentary *tafsir*, *Tafsir-i-Para-i-'Amma*, by Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri⁶. It is not possible to determine as to who—the Qazi or the Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri—was the author of this work. No contemporary writer makes any reference to it. The Hyderabad manuscript⁷, which was copied in 1182 A.H., contains certain passages which give the impression of its being a later work⁸.

So far as *hadis* literature of this period is concerned, the following works of Maulana Razi-u'd-din Saghani are particularly noteworthy:

1. *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar*
2. *Risalah-fi'l-ahadis al-mawzu'ah*

1. Barani refers to *Lawa'ih* and *Lawama'* of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 341. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* (p. 128) contains a reference to *Lawa'ih* alone. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq writes about him

قاضی حیدالدین را تصانیف بسیار است، بزبان عشق و ولولہ سخن می کند
Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar, p. 36.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 128.

3. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq has referred to this work in his *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar* (p. 61) and has given an extract from it.

4. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS).

5. *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah* (MS).

6. *Persian Literature*, C.A. Storey, pp. 5-6.

7. *Catalogue of the Asafiyah Library*, Vol. I, p. 562.

8. *Misbah-u'l-'Ashiqin*, (MS) a commentary on *Sura Wad Duha*, by Khwaja Baha-u'd-din b. Mahmud b. Ibrahim grandson (*nabira*) of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, refers to a work *Bahr-u'l-Marjan* from the pen of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri. As the extracts show, the *Bahr-u'l-Marjan* must have been a work on exegesis. An Urdu translation of *Misbah-u'l-'Ashiqin* was published from Lahore (Malik Fazl-u'd-din, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore).

3. *Durr al-Sihabah-fi-bayan mawazi' Wafayat al-Sahabah*

4. *Kitab fi-asma Shuyukh al-Bukhari.*

The *Mashariq* is a collection of 2,253 sayings of the Prophet culled from the two standard works of *hadis*—*Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*¹. Referring to Maulana Saghani's anxiety to incorporate only the genuine sayings of the Prophet in his work, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once said: "Whenever the Maulana came across any controversial *hadis*, he saw the Prophet in his dream and corrected the *hadis* from him"². Whatever personal satisfaction such a recurring phenomenon could give to the Maulana or his medieval readers, this method of testing the veracity of the traditions of the Prophet, can hardly be considered basically sound since all *mukashafat* (revelations) or dreams have a purely personal significance. The Maulana himself was conscious of this fact. He did not, therefore, introduce this personal spiritual experience as a new principle of critical evaluation of the *hadis* literature. He refers to such incidents just to express his personal satisfaction and faith in the correctness of certain sayings of the Prophet.

The *Mashariq* was, however, the most popular book on the traditions of the Prophet³. It was introduced in the schools of Delhi by Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Mahmud b. Abi'l Khair As'ad al-Balkhi, a distinguished pupil of Saghani⁴. From that time onwards, it became a part of the syllabus of those days. Eminent scholars of Delhi who taught it to their pupils granted certificates for undergoing thorough instruction in this book⁵. It was held in such high esteem in the succeeding century that Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq is reported to have placed it side by side with the *Quran* while taking oath of allegiance from his officers⁶.

The *Risalah fi'l ahadis al-mawzu'ah* deals with the problem of weeding out the fabricated *ahadis*. It may be "regarded as an earliest attempt to enunciate the principles of *mawzu'at*."⁷ Saghani has critically drawn up a list of those persons who had tried to fabricate the traditions of the Prophet.

1. Of these 2,253 sayings 1,051 are common to both the collections; 327 belong exclusively to *Sahih Bukhari*, while 875 are found in *Sahih Muslim* only.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103. This statement is corroborated by internal evidence available in the *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar* (Istanbul Edition, pp. 21, 75, 214).

3. For commentaries on this work by the Indian scholars, see *Al-Saqafat al-Islamiya fi'l-Hind*, p. 155.

4. For brief biographical notice see, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 45-46, Supra p. 121.

5. See Appendix A (i) for a certificate granted by Maulana Kamal-u'd-din Zahid to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 495.

7. *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature*, Muhammad Ishaq, p. 227.

In this connection he has also referred to an Indian, Ratan al-Hindi¹, on whose authority some traditions have been quoted. The *Durr al-Sihabah* deals with the places of death of the Companions of the Prophet. Besides these works, one of the greatest contributions of Saghani towards the development of the science of *hadis* is said to have been his edition of *Sahih Bukhari*. A. Mingana is of the opinion that the present edition of the *Sahih* which is current all over Arabia, India, Persia and 'Iraq was prepared by Saghani².

Of the surviving mystic works, the '*Ishqia*'³ of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagrauri and the *Mulhamat*⁴ and *Diwan* of Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi are of great significance. The '*Ishqia*' is a small *risalah* dealing with the different aspects of cosmic emotion and its value in mystic experience. It is interesting so far as it goes but the fact that interpolations and additions have been made to it by later generations⁵ detracts from its value and makes it difficult to evaluate its thought-content properly. The *Mulhamat* is "full of sufiistic aphorisms, sublime in ideas and sweet in expression"⁶. The author possessed an almost electric aptitude for seizing upon analogies. He has condensed and crystallized the mystic thought of the preceding generations in short and pithy sentences. He has emphasised the moral aspect of mystic discipline and has very vividly brought out the difference between the externalists and the mystics. "A *zahid* (externalist)", he remarks, "keeps his exterior clean with water; an '*arif*' keeps his interior clean from passions"⁷. All through this work, this difference has been very clearly delineated. The *Mulhamat* is, at its best, a work of general mystic interest and does not contain anything in particular about Indian conditions. The *diwan* is more useful from this point of view. It throws considerable light on the contemporary religious thought and institutions.

A very important part of the religious literature of medieval India appertains to the conversations of the Chishti saints. This literature may

1. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani (*Isaba-fi-Tamyiz al-Sahaba*, ed. Biblo. Indica, Calcutta, 1888) and Muhammad Ghausi Shattari (*Gulzar-i-Abrar*, MS) have given brief accounts of Baba Ratan. Ghausi refers to a work *Fazl-u'l-Khatib* from Shaikh 'Ala-u'd-din Simnani in which an attempt was made to establish the authenticity of the traditions quoted by the Baba.

2. *An Important Manuscript of the Tradition of al-Bukhari* A. Mingana (Oxford 1936).

3. Printed at Qaisariya Press, Delhi 1332 A.H. I have an old MS of this work but its title is given as *Risalah-i-Sufiya*.

4. Printed at Yusufi Press, Alwar, 1306 A.H.

5. For instance, one comes across couplets of Hafiz in this work, see pp. 38, 61, 22.

6. *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, p. 85.

7. *Mulhamat*, p. 10.

be considered under two categories: genuine and fabricated. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*¹ and the *Sarur-u's-Sudur*² are the two most authentic records of the teachings of the early Chishti saints. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, compiled by Amir Hasan Sijzi, contains an account of the conversations of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya between 707 A.H./1307-1308 A.D. and 721 A.H./1321 A.D. Chronologically the compilation of this book belongs to the next century but, since the Shaikh had already started his mystic work during the period under review and because it contains references to the life and teachings of the religious scholars of the earlier period, it constitutes a veritable source of information for the religious life and thought of the thirteenth century. All through the middle ages, this book has been treated as the most faithful record of the teachings and tendencies of the great Chishti saints.³ The *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, compiled by a grandson of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, sometime after the death of the saint on the basis of personal memoranda and notes, contains a very vivid and reliable account of the religious thought and attitudes of the period.

A small brochure, *Miftah-u't-Talibin*⁴, written during this period in the form of a *malfuz*, contains very interesting information about religious activities on the banks of the *Hauz-i-Shamsi*.

The following *malfuzat* attributed to the Chishti saints of the thirteenth century are apocryphal⁵:

- (1) *Ganj-u'l-Asrar*
- (2) *Anis-u'l-Arwah*
- (3) *Dalil-u'l-'Arifin*
- (4) *Fawa'id-u's-Salikin*
- (5) *Asrar-u'l-Auliya*
- (6) *Rahat-u'l-Qulub*

1. Printed at Newal Kishore Press, 1302 A.H.

2. MSS in personal collection—I have two manuscripts of this work. The earlier one seems to have been copied out by some careless scribe for at several places many lines have been left over making the text confused and misleading (e.g. the remarks of Saghani quoted *supra* p. 153 are made to appear the remarks of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din). The second MS is a copy of the Habibaganj MS. It is complete and has been carefully copied.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 360.

4. I have a very old but incomplete MS of this work. The name of the author and the date of compilation is not given. I am not aware of the existence of any other copy of this work. References to Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, Shaikh Hasan Dana and others show that it is an early work from the pen of a contemporary. The work is genuine and not a later-day fabrication. Leaving apart the superstitious element, it contains information which is historically correct.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 45; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 52, *Jawami'-u'l-Kilam*, p. 134, For a critical evaluation of this fabricated literature, see Professor M. Habib's article: *Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period*. (*Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, part 2 pp. 1-43.)

This literature does not contain a faithful exposition of the religious thought of the persons to whom it is attributed. Nevertheless it has a value in the wider context of the religious thought of the middle ages. It gives an idea of the popular assimilation and interpretation of the religious ideas of the early saints. The superstitious element in the religious thought of the Indian Mussalmans may be studied in this fabricated literature.

(c) *Religious Works read or referred to:*

The contemporary records refer to the following religious works which, it appears, were popular in the religious circles and had, therefore, a significant share in shaping the religious outlook of the period:

(i) *Tafsir:*

1. *Kashshaf*¹ of Zamakhshari.
2. *Tafsir-i-Imam Nasiri*²
3. *Tafsir-i-Shaikh 'Usman Khairabadi*³
4. *Tafsir-i-Maqatil*⁴
5. *Tafsir-i-Madarik*⁵
6. *Tafsir-i-Zahid*⁶ of Abu Nasr Ahmad b. al-Hasan
7. *Eijaz*⁷
8. *'Umdah*⁸

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 109; *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 44. *Dibachah Diwan Ghurra't-u'l-Kamal*, p. 24. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri once told his audience about a visitor from زمين بالا who had committed to memory 4 volumes of the *Kashshaf*.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 60. Amir Hasan Sijzi writes about Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya:

تفسیر امام ناصری پیش بود

Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri taught it to his son and grandson. The grandson had not completed it that the Shaikh expired. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 69.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 32, Shaikh 'Usman was a native of Ghaznin. For brief notice, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 32-33.

4. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 29.

فرمودند کہ نیک تفسیرے پاکیزہ است و مثل ندارد و شافعی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ
آن را ستودہ است

5. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 41. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri taught this work to his grandson.

6. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS) pp. 61, 68.

7. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 109.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 109.

9. *Tafsir-i-Haq'iq*¹(ii) *Hadis*:

1. *Sahihain*² i.e. *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*.
2. *Mulakhkhas*³
3. *Sunan-i-Abi Da'ud*⁴

(iii) *Fiqh*:

1. *Fatawa-i-Siraji*⁵, by Siraj-u'd-din Aushi.
2. *Mukhtasar al-Quduri*⁶, of Abu'l Hasan Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Quduri
3. *Usul al-Bazdawi*⁷, of 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Al-Husain Bazdawi.
4. *Shafi* and *Kafi* of Maulana Hafiz u'd-din⁸
5. *Nafi*⁹
6. *Nawadir-u'l-Usul*, 'Ala-u'd-din Tirmizi¹⁰.
7. *Hidayah*¹¹.
8. *Kitab-i-Fa'iq*¹².
9. *Mabsut*¹³.
10. *Manzumah*¹⁴ i.e. *Al-Manzumat fi'l Khilafiyat* by Najm-u'd-din Abu Hafs 'Umar b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafi.

1. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS) p. 51.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 105.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 325-326.

5. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 119; II, p. 97; IV, p. 185, 284.

6. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 119; IV, pp. 189-190; *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 39.

Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din used to say:

قدوری و منظومه را در مستطهرمی باید بود که هیچ مسئله بیرون آن نیست که
قدوری را امهات المسائل گویند

7. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 119; IV, pp. 189-190.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 152.

9. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 220.

10. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 72.

11. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 165, 239; *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 119.

12. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS) p. 40.

13. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, pp. 119; II, p. 97.

14. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 119; *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 39.

11. *Muhit*¹. There are two works of this name : one by Sarakshi (ob. 544/1149); the other by Burhan-u'd-din (ob. 616/1219).

12. *Zakhira*²

(iv) *Tasawwuf*:

1. *Ruh-u'l-Arwah*.³
2. *Qut-u'l-Qulub*⁴ of Maulana Abu Talib Macchi (ob. 386/996)
3. *Risalah-i-Qushairi*⁵ i.e. *Risala-ila-Jama'at i'l-Sufiya bi Buldan u'l-Islam* of Abul Qasim 'Abdul Karim b. Hawazim Qushairi (ob. 465/1072).
4. *'Awarif-u'l-Ma 'arif*⁶ by Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi (ob. 1234).
5. *Sharh Ta'arruf*⁷ i.e. Commentary on the *Kitab-i-Ta'arruf* of Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ibrahim Bukhari (ob. 390/999).
6. *Mirsad-u'l-Ibad*⁸ written in 1223 by Najm-u'd-din.
7. *Maktubat-i-'Ain-u'l-Quzzat*⁹ i.e. letters of 'Ain-u'l-Quzzat Hamadani (ob. 525/1130).
8. *Suluk-u'l- Muridin*¹⁰
9. *Ihya-u'l-Ulum-u'd-Din*¹¹ of Imam Ghazzali (ob. 505/1111).
10. *Kimiya-i-Sa 'adat*¹² of Imam Ghazzali.

1. *I 'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 119, II, p. 97.

2. *I 'jaz-i-Khusravi*, II, p. 97.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 83. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya remarked about this work :

نیک باراحت است ، نیکو کتابی است

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 45, 83, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 346, *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS) p. 92.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 346.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 26, 75, 112.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 346. The *Kitab-i-Ta'arruf* has been quoted in *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS) p. 91.

8. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 346; *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 227.

9. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 346; *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 83.

10. *I 'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. I, p. 54.

11. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 72, 85.

12. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS) P. 31. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri advised his disciples to read out every day one or two pages from it before their audience.

11. *Arba'in*¹.
12. *Maqamat-i-Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abul Khair*².
13. *Isnad Hilya Shaikh 'Abdullah Tastri*³.
14. *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*⁴ of Shaikh 'Ali Hajweri.
15. *Akhbar-i-Nayyarain*⁵.
16. *Diwan-i-Sana'i*⁶.
17. *Khamisa-i-Nizami*⁷.

(v) *Kalam etc.*:

1. *Maktubat-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Razi*⁸. i.e. letters of Imam Fakhr-u'd-din Razi.
2. *Nahj-u'l-Balaghah*⁹ of Sharif al-Razi Abu'l Hasan Muhammad b. Tahir
3. *Akhbar-u's-Samar*¹⁰.
4. *Kanz-u'l-Adab*¹¹.
5. *Siyar-u'l-Muluk*¹².
6. *Fazl*¹³.
7. *Tamhidat*, Abu Shakoor¹⁴.

The above is a list of some of the standard works frequently referred to by different contemporary writers. To form some idea of the range and conspectus of an average writer of this period, a reference may be made to the works of Sadid-u'd-din Muhammad 'Awfi. He refers to 94 works in his *Jawami'-u'l-Hikayat* and to nearly 72 authorities in his *Lubab-u'l-Albab*.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103.
2. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 23.
3. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 23.
4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 346; *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 54.
5. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 321.
6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 67.
7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 67; *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 42.
8. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 27. These letters were collected after the death of Imam Razi.
9. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 61.
10. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 72.
11. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 61.
12. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 100.
13. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 61.
14. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 116.

Excluding works which are apparently non-religious, the bibliography of his sources is as follows:

- (1) *Ihya-u'l-'Ulum-u'd-din*, Ghazzali
- (2) *Adyan-u'l-'Arab*
- (3) *Injil* (Gospel of Manes)
- (4) *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Khurasan*
- (5) *Tafsir-i-Ibn-u'l-Kalbi*, Muhammad b. as-Sa'ib b. Bishr al-Kalbi
- (6) *Al-Taysir fi't Tafsir*, Najm-u'd-din 'Umar al-Nasafi
- (7) *Jami'-u'l-Kabir*, Muhammad b. Hassan Shaibani
- (8) *Khalq-u'l-Insan*, Mahmud b. Ahmad called Bayan-u'l-Haq Nishapuri.
- (9) *Rabi'-u'l-Abrar*, Zamakhshari
- (10) *Risalah Qushariya*
- (11) *Risalah al-Kindi*
- (12) *Rauzat-u'l-'Ulama*
- (13) *Zend Avesta*
- (14) *Sifr-u'l-Asrar*
- (15) *Sifr-u'l-i-Jabariya*
- (16) *Siyar-u's-Swalihin*
- (17) *Siyar-u'l-Kabir*, Muhammad b. al-Hasan Shaibani Faqih
- (18) *Sharf-u'n-Nabi*
- (19) *Sahih Bukhari*
- (20) *'Ayun-u'l-Akhyar*, Nasafi
- (21) *Ghurar wa Siyar*, Salabi
- (22) *Gharib-u'l-Hadis*
- (23) *Kitab-u'l-Maghazi*, Muhammad b. Ishaq
- (24) *Kanz-u'l-Akhbar*
- (25) *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat*
- (26) *Ganj-i-Khirad*, Khwaja 'Abdul Hamid
- (27) *Lata'if-i-Qisas-u'l-Anbiya*
- (28) *Musnad Akhbar-i-Nabavi*
- (29) *Miftah-u'l-Nijah*
- (30) *Asrar-u't-Tawhid fi Maqamat-i-Shaikh Abi Sa'id*
- (31) *Maqamat-i-Shaikh Bayazid Bistami*

- (32) *Malah-u'l-Nawadir*, Salabi
- (33) *Nasr-u'r-Durrar*, Salabi
- (34) *Tafsir Basa'ir-i-Yemeni*
- (35) *Tawilat-i-Ahl-u's-Sunnah*, 'Ali Mansur Matridi
- (36) *Al-Tawassul-ila't-tarassul*, Baha-u'd-din Baghdadi
- (37) *Hanin-u'l-Mustajir*, Hamid-u'd-din Balkhi
- (38) *Risalah-i-Istighasa-ila-ikhwan u's-Salasa* Hamid-u'd-din Balkhi
- (39) *Rauzat-u'r-Riza fi Madha Abi ar Riza* Hamid-u'd-din Balkhi
- (40) *Zabur*
- (41) *Sama'-u'z-zahir-fi Jama'-u'z-zafir*, Zahir-u'd-din Samarqandi
- (42) *Fa'iq*, Zamakhshari
- (43) *Mani'at-u'r-Raji fi Jawahir-u't-Taji*, Hamid-u'd-din Balkhi
- (44) *Wasilat-u'l-'Ufat ila ikfa u'l-Kifat*, Hamid-u'd-din Balkhi
- (45) *Jami'-u's-Saghir*, Fakhr-u'd-din
- (46) *Risalah-i-Jalaliya*.

II. Main Features of Religious Thought and Studies:

The above survey of the religious literature leads to the following conclusions:

1. The Indian Muslims were fully familiar with the classic contributions of Muslim scholars in the field of Quranic studies, *hadis*, *fiqh* and *tasawwuf*. In fact, India had become the preserver of all that was left of Muslim culture and learning in the East after the fall of Baghdad. The foundations of that academic eminence which India achieved during the Khalji period were laid during the Ilbarite regime.

2. There is little originality in the works produced in India during this period. The Indo-Muslim scholars of this period were by and large commentators, compilers and abridgers. They have simply restated, summarised or annotated works prepared by the preceding generation of scholars. The tendency seems to have been to accept some standard work written outside India as final and build up round it the entire structure of their ideology. This tendency which produced and perpetuated conservative adherence to old categories of thought needs explanation.

As Muslim thought developed from the 7th century onward there were, in almost every subject, a number of opposed schools. But discussions

gradually reconciled the ideas of these schools, or else left (as in mystic thought) two opposed schools in the field. Under medieval conditions of life—and specially the conditions of teaching—one need not be surprised to find that academic progress led to the acceptance of one standard work—or, if reconciliation of opposed ideas was not possible, to two standard works, one representing the orthodox, and the other the leftist line of thought.

Broadly speaking, the religious attitude of the medieval Mussalmans had ultimately crystallized in two opposed schools—the Ash'arite and the Mu'tazalite. The Indo-Muslim intelligentsia of the 13th century did not accept any one of these schools of thought as a whole. But the inclination of the majority was towards the Ash'arite doctrines on which the foundations of orthodox Islam were laid. The dissolution of the social and political structures of medieval 'Ajam had thrown the best minds of the age in an attitude of defence. They thought that survival of the Muslim society was possible only by preservation of the old forms of life and thought. The spirit of philosophic enquiry was therefore discouraged¹ and *preservation* rather than *investigation* became the *leitmotif* of all scholarly undertakings.

3. Considered in order of priorities and preferences, the main interest of the Indian Muslims lay in *tasawwuf* (mysticism), *hadis* (traditions of the Prophet), *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *tafsir* (exegesis). It is significant that while in almost every other country mystic tendencies had developed after the Muslim society had passed its meridian, in India mysticism gained popularity even when the Muslim society was in its early formative stages. This is why in the tangled skein of medieval Indian culture one comes across so many threads woven by the genius of Muslim mystics.

Whatever progress the study of *hadis* made in India during the thirteenth century, it was due to the efforts of the mystics. Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan Saghani² roamed all over the country for forty years giving instructions in *hadis* and creating interest in theological studies. Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya went to Yemen to study *hadis* at the feet of an eminent scholar, Maulana Kamal-u'd-din Muhammad³. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 50-51. See also the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* of Zia-u'd-din Barani (p. 43) for Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak Ghaznavi's diatribe against the teaching of philosophy.

2. Though technically in the category of 'ulama, Saghani was temperamentally a mystic and had, as shown *supra* p. 153, instructed people in mysticism also.

3. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 103.

committed to memory the entire text of *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar*¹ and one of his elder disciples, Maulana Shams-u'd-din Yahya, wrote a commentary on it².

The inclination of the 'ulama was more towards *fiqh* than towards *hadis*. A careful student of Indo-Muslim religious thought cannot fail to discern in the attitude of the 'ulama of the thirteenth century an indication of that preference for *fiqh* which characterized the religious studies of the succeeding century.

4. The religious ideology of the period may be studied with reference to certain classics which determined the drift and direction of the Muslim mind. In *tasawwuf*, the *Ruh-u'l-Arwah* and the '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* enjoyed an unrivalled place. Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri is reported to have committed to memory the entire text of *Ruh-u'l-Arwah*. His mystic perorations were mainly based on this work³. The '*Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* was taught by elder mystics⁴ to those disciples whom they desired to entrust the responsibility of organising independent *khanqahs*. The *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub* of Hajweri was also held in high esteem and Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya is reported to have remarked: "For one who has no spiritual mentor to guide him, the *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub* is enough"⁵.

In *tafsir*, the *Kashshaf* of Zamakhshari and the *Tafsir* of Imam Nasiri were taken as embodying the final word. The *Kashshaf* was for the critically minded; the *Tafsir-i-Imam Nasiri* was for the orthodox. Conflicting opinions were expressed about *Kashshaf* and its author who was a renowned Mu'tazalite. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri was all praise for *Kashshaf*⁶, but his eminent contemporary, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya, did not like the works of Zamakhshari⁷. The jurists looked to *Hidayah* and *Quduri* for guidance in legal matters. The *Hidayah* formed part of the syllabus of those days. The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* refers to a Qazi who decided all cases in the light of *Quduri*⁸.

1. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 101.

2. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 96.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 83.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 26-27, 75.

5. *Durrar-i-Nizamiyah*, (MS).

6. See *supra*, p. 42.

7. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 109. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once remarked about him:

دریغا با چندان علوم و روایات عقیده باطل داشت

8. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 40.

For leading an ideal life according to the best traditions of religion and morality, people frequently studied the *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat* of Imam Ghazzali. Mystics exhorted their disciples to make this book their constant companion and regularly recite its passages before the public¹.

5. Within these traditionally limited forms, the standard of critical scholarship was fairly high. This is clear from the opinions expressed about various works and the assessment made of the contributions of different classical authorities. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya was sceptical about the authenticity of traditions quoted in Imam Ghazzali's *Araba'in*. When a visitor referred to a *hadis* quoted by Imam Ghazzali, he remarked: "An *hadis* which is given in *Sahihain* (i.e. *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*) is correct"². What the Shaikh implied by this remark was that the traditions quoted by Imam Ghazzali could not be uncritically accepted as genuine. It may be pointed out that modern scholarship has established that Imam Ghazzali was not very critical in quoting the traditions of the Prophet³.

Guided by this critical spirit the scholars never allowed any saying of any eminent saint or scholar to gain currency as a tradition of the Prophet⁴. Great care was, however, shown in the matter of outright rejection of any tradition of the Prophet if its contents were doubtful. 'This is not given in the known and reliable works of *Hadis*', a scholar would confine himself to this curt remark if he could say nothing specifically against a tradition⁵.

Notwithstanding the fact that the study of *hadis* did not make any particular advance during this period, it was not easy for any scholar to become known as a *muhaddis* unless he had committed to memory twenty thousand traditions of the Prophet⁶.

The opinion expressed about the philosophic approach of Imam Fakhr-u'd-din Razi is based on a very sound and careful assessment of the great philosopher's work. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri once said: "Maulana Shams-u'd-din Halwa'i did not permit people to read the works of Maulana Fakhr-u'd-din Razi. He used to say: 'The Maulana has stated the critic's point of view in a very cogent and irrefutable manner, but his

1. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS).

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 103.

3. *Al-Ghazali*, Maulana Shibli, pp. 271-272.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 175.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 109.

6. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS) p. 75.

rejoinders are feeble and unconvincing'.¹ It may be pointed out that a modern scholar has expressed exactly this opinion about the *tafsir* of Imam Fakhr-u'd-din Razi².

III. Some Important Metaphysical Concepts

According to Shahrastani, the problems which agitated the Muslim minds in the middle ages related to—

1. Attributes of God,
2. Freedom of Will,
3. Beliefs and Actions and
4. Reason and Revelation³.

A study of Indo-Muslim ideology with reference to them would, therefore, be helpful in understanding the basic categories of Muslim religious thought during the 13th century.

1. *Attributes of God:*

The Mu'tazalites and the Ash'arites held diametrically opposite views about the Attributes of God. The Mu'tazalites denied the existence of Attributes beyond His Being. His Essence, they said, is self-contained and requires no separate Attributes. The Ash'arites, on the contrary, held that the Attributes of God have Their separate existence from His Essence and are co-eternal with Him.

The following anecdote quoted by Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya fully brings out the attitude of the Indo-Muslim scholars towards this problem:

“A mystic would be asked on the Day of Judgement: ‘Did you hear music in the world’? He would say: ‘Yes, I did’. He would be further asked: ‘Did you ascribe to Us the Attributes expressed in (mystic) verses’? ‘Yes’, would be his reply. ‘How can the casual (*hadis*) Attributes be ascribed to Our Being which is Eternal (*qadim*)?’ God would remark. ‘O Creator!’, the mystic would submit, ‘I did this on account of overflowing love for Thee’⁴”.

Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, another great thinker of the period, thus states his point of view: God possesses Attributes, but these Attributes

1. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 109.

2. *Tarjuman u'l-Quran*, Abul Kalam Azad, Vol. I, p. 13.

3. *Kitab-u'l Milal-wan-Nihal*, as cited by Maulana Shibli in his '*Im-u'l-Kalam*, p. 20.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 96.

have no priority over His Essence. Attributes may be known only with the help of human senses, imagination or intellect, but God is free from all these. Hence Attributes are over and above His Being¹.

2. *Freedom of Will:*

Whether a man has discretion in the choice of his actions or is he merely a helpless pawn in the hands of destiny, is a problem which has exercised the minds of great religious thinkers in the middle ages. The Mu'tazalite scholars affirmed the absolute freedom of human beings and in that process imposed a limit on the sovereignty of God. The Ash'arites struck the other extreme and emphasised determined freedom which amounted to determinism pure and simple. An attempt to reconcile these two extreme points of view is discernible in the Indo-Muslim religious thought of the 13th century.

Since the problem of free-will and predestination had a practical significance, it would be interesting to find out how and in what ways it was interpreted and tackled by the different strata of Muslim society. The following incidents supply a clue to the working of the medieval mind:

1. Balban is brought before Iltutmish by a Chinese slave-merchant. At the very first sight, Iltutmish discerns in him a shrewd, scheming and ambitious young man—dangerous to his family and dangerous to his throne. He declines to purchase him. After some time, Kamal-u'd-din Junaidi, the Wazir, presents Balban to the Sultan who accepts him now as a decree of fate².
2. Nishapur is attacked by the Mongols. The ruler of Nishapur sends a messenger to Shaikh Farid-u'd-din 'Attar to request him to pray to God for averting the calamity. The Shaikh replies: "The time for prayer has passed, one should be resigned to his fate now."³
3. On being asked by Qubacha about the circumstances in which he had corresponded with Iltutmish, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya replied: "Whatever I did was at Divine instance."⁴
4. Iltutmish's remark: "Whatever is given, is given by God, I am helpless in this matter."⁵

1. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 40-41.

2. *Futuh-u's-Salatn*, p. 123.

به دل گفت "آن را که پروردگار
بکرد از پیئے مملکت آشکار
دو صد بارش ارد کند آدمی
به اقبال او کم در آید کمی"

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 53.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 120.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 211-212.

5. Whatever a man does, good or bad, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya told his audience, God is the Creator of all that. Whatever happens, happens at His direction..... One day a man gave a blow on the neck of Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abu'l Khair. The Shaikh turned round to see as to who had struck him. The person who had struck said : "What do you want to find out?, Did you not say that whatever is done is done by God." "Certainly", replied Shaikh Abu Sa'id, "It is as I have said : but I just wanted to know as to who was that accursed person who was selected by Him to perform this job.¹"

The views of the medieval religious thinkers about *tawakkul*² (trust in God) and *rizq*³ (subsistence) cannot be explained without reference to predestination. But these ideas could be constructive as well as destructive in individual life; they could integrate human personality and disintegrate it also. In a person with proper attitude of mind, faith in these two principles was bound to create self-confidence and give a new orientation to his personality by developing absolute reliance on Him and relieving him of all expectations and desires from earthly powers. In a person with a different bent of mind, it could create inertia or encourage him to do things dangerous to society and government. In the anecdote quoted above, Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abu'l Khair represents the healthy and the man who slapped him, the morbid working of these ideas.

Fully alive to the dangers inherent in such an attitude, medieval religious thinkers tried to qualify their teachings in this respect by saying that though God is Absolute, He has provided potentialities to every soul. It is the duty of every human being to actualize these potentialities within his restricted sphere. Whatever a man attains, he attains through his effort. "Though Divine Mercy is there, one should himself strive and struggle for achieving it⁴".

3. *Beliefs and Action*

Differences about the relative value of belief and action have led to the birth of many sects in Islam. The Karramiyans, for instance, believed that faith alone was necessary; action had no significance. A man, according to them, could persist in any action, lawful or unlawful, provided his faith was intact. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya once explained his views on this problem in this way⁵:

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 247.
2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 54, 111; *Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi*, Vol. II, pp. 43-45.
3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 102.
4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 7.
5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 69-70.

The Mu'tazalites hold that the *kafirs* and all those Faithful who commit major sins would be condemned to eternal punishments. This is not correct. A Faithful who commits major sins, would not be condemned to eternal punishments. The Ash'arites believe that a *kafir* who dies a repentant would be included among the Faithful and a Faithful who dies as a *kafir* would be included among the *kafirs*. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri used to call a Hindu as a saint. Imam Abu Hanifah was also asked about this matter. He said: *The kafirs would not be condemned to Hell permanently.*

These problems about Faith and Action, which had a merely theoretical value for the medieval writers on Muslim sects, became living problems for the Muslim religious thinkers when they were faced with a concrete problem in Indian society: *Some Hindus recited the Kalima, accepted Tauhid and developed faith in the Prophet Mohammad but (for fear of punishment and condemnation by their guilds and castes) kept their faith concealed*¹. When a contemporary Muslim saint was asked to give his opinion about this class of Hindus, he replied: "The decision of the affairs of such a Hindu rests with God. He may bless him or punish him, as He likes"².

4. Reason and Revelation

The general tendency of Muslim religious thought during the 13th century was to discourage the philosophic attitude. Philosophy, it was believed, could not possibly help in the integration of any social order. The attitude of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi, which was definitely hostile towards the philosophers, was approvingly quoted by medieval Indian writers³.

There were, however, great difficulties in determining with precision the nature and extent of the acceptability of revelation. The Prophetic revelation was considered final and legally binding but there were controversies with regard to the practical and social value of individual mystic experiences or *ilham*. The *'ulama* argued that such experiences could not possibly be made the basis of any social attitude or social discipline for individual religious and spiritual experiences or revelations were bound to differ and in that case anarchy in social and religious spheres was inevitable⁴.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 135.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 135.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 50.

4. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 57.

"گفته اند الهام نزد متصوفه حجت خدای است و بعضی از سادات نیز درین سخن با ایشان یار اند اما علماء الهام را ملکر اند - میگویند اگر الهام حجت باشد یکی گوید من از الهام این کار می کنم و دیگری گوید که این کار غلط است که تو میکنی - پس تناقض پدید آید و در حجت تناقض روا نیست - اما هم الهام از نور دل است که بی خواست آدمی و بی اندیشه و بی تفکر حق تعالی چیزی در دل پدید می آرد"

Besides these purely metaphysical concepts, the ideas of the contemporary Muslims about some other religious problems deserve to be briefly stated.

(a) *Miracles*:

Muslim religious writers have divided miracles into four types—(a) *mu'jza* or miracles of the Prophets, (b) *karamat* or miracles of the saints, (c) *mu'awnat* or miracles performed by a mad man or person without knowledge and without virtue and (d) *istidraj* or the miracles of sinners¹.

The possibility of performing miracles was never denied but there was a tendency to look down upon any such expression of saintly power². The common man was always anxious to behold some miracles of a saint but mystic teachers positively discouraged it³. "Performance of miracles is no achievement", declared Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya, "a Mussalman should be helpless in the path of truth⁴". On another occasion he said: "Allah has made obligatory on the saints to hide their miracles (*karamat*) just as he has made it obligatory on the Prophets to reveal their miracles (*mu'jzat*)⁵." Faith in the miracles performed by the Prophet was universal in Muslim society. Amir Khusrau refers to the performance of the miracle of breaking the moon (*shaq-u'l-qamar*) by the Prophet⁶.

(b) *Mi'raj*:

There was considerable controversy on the nature of the Prophet's *mi'raj* (ascension). Was it a spiritual experience or a vision or a bodily ascension? The rationalists or the *Mu'tazalites* considered it to be a spiritual experience. The Muslims, in general, believed in bodily and physical *mi'raj*⁷. "What was the nature of *mi'raj*?", a disciple once asked Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. The Shaikh replied, "From Mecca to Jerusalem it was *Asra*. From there to the first Heaven (*ʿalak*) it was *mi'raj*. From the first Heaven to the *Qab-i-Qausain* it was *iraj*." Apparently not satisfied with this reply, the disciple further enquired, "It is said that *mi'raj* is for the heart, for the body and the soul. How is it possible for it to be for all the three?" The

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 68-69.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 172-173; *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), p. 16.

3. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS).

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 172.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 117.

6. *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 17.

7. *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 18. It appears that Amir Khusrau believed in bodily ascension.

Shaikh did not want to go into details about this matter. He remarked: "One should believe in these things but he should not investigate about their character and their nature¹."

(c) *Vision of God:*

Another controversial problem was related to the vision of God. Some of the anthropomorphic suggestions in the *Quran* had led people to believe in physical vision of God. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din rejected completely the idea of having the vision of God with the help of intellect. Intellect, he said, created shapes and forms, but God is free from them. He approvingly cited the remark of Imam Abu Hanifah:

"One who worships that which can be imagined is a infidel (Kafir) until he returns to the worship of one that cannot be imagined²."

He, however, considered the vision of God to be an emotional experience with which a mystic was blessed on attaining gnosis.

(d) *Heaven and Hell:*

At the popular level heaven and hell were conceived as objective and concrete physical realities³. The common people interpreted the verses of the *Quran* literally. There were, however, people who interpreted Heaven and Hell as spiritual experiences determined by the actions of the individuals⁴.

(e) *Life after Death:*

Belief in life after death is one of the cardinal principles of Muslim faith. The whole structure of Islamic religion is built up on this basic postulate but it was interpreted differently by the different sections of Muslim society due to different levels of knowledge and understanding.

The higher religious thinkers believed in the continuity of life. They looked upon death as a bridge connecting the creature with the creator and as an opportunity for the lover to meet his Beloved⁵. The common man interpreted life after death in a slightly different way. He thought that life in a form came to an end in this world but continued differently in the next.

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1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 208.
 2. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 34-35.
 3. *Dalil-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 12-13 passim.
 4. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 35.
 5. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 25; *Ishqia*, p. 22.

IV. Some Religious Sects

A. The Hyderis

The founder of the Hyderia sect was a Turk¹, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Hyder², who possessed great spiritual powers³. When Chengiz Khan appeared on the scene, he warned people of the impending destruction and himself retired into a cave where he shut himself off completely from society⁴. He died in 597/1200 at Zava⁵, in Eastern Khurasan, which is now known as Turbat-i-Hyderi after his name. No contemporary record gives any details about his life or teachings. Some of the practices of his followers are, however, mentioned in early works. The Hyderis, it is stated, used to wear iron necklaces, rings, bracelets etc⁶. It appears that they also carried sharp edged instruments and razors with them⁷. A sixteenth century mystic-writer refers to another strange practice of the Hyderis. He says that they used to pass a lead bar through their urethra and then soldered its both ends so that it appeared like a ring. This was known as *Sekh muhr*⁸. This practice was probably borrowed from the Hindu jogis, for the famous Arab traveller, Sulayman, remarks about some Indian ascetics:

ويجعل في احليله حلقة حديد لئلا يانى النساء

(And they put iron rings in their male organs in order to avoid intercourse with women⁹.)

Notwithstanding all these ways and means to lead a life of extreme abstinence, free from all desires of the flesh, the real spirit of the sect did not long survive. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya sadly informed his audience in 707 A.H./1307 A.D. that while the outward form and peculiarities of the Hyderis had remained, their real spirit had disappeared¹⁰.

1. The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* has او تورک بچه بود (p. 19); but *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* says: سلطان المشايخ می فرمود ... که سرکیجه بود (p. 575.)

(*Sarkija*=vertigo). The context does not justify the word *sarkija* because the Shaikh speaks highly about his spiritual attainments in the very next sentence.

2. *Rihlah*, Ibn Battuta, Vol. I.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 19-20.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 19-20, 250; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 176.

5. For Mongol attack on Zava, see *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, English tr. by J. A. Boyle, Vol. I, p. 144, II, p. 615.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 20.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 212.

8. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 67.

9. *Silsilat-u't-Tawarikh* p. 51.

10. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 20.

The Hyderi sect reached India very early. We first hear about a Hyderi saint in Lakhnauti. He was known as *Sultani Durwesh* on account of Tughral's faith in him. Tughral gave him 3 maunds of gold "so that the rings and bracelets of the *Qalandars* might be made of gold instead of iron." When Balban marched against Tughral, he executed the *Qalandar* and put his head on the gibbet¹.

The most notable figure of this sect in Delhi was Sayyid Abu Bakr Hyderi Tusi Qalandari². Contemporary records do not give any detailed life-sketch of the saint. His eminence may, however, be estimated from his contacts and the respect he enjoyed in the highest mystic circles of the country³. He was on the best of terms with Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and Maulana Husam-u'd-din Inderpati, the *Shaikh-u'l-Quzat wa'l-Khutaba*⁴. His *khanqah*, situated as it was on the bank of the river Jumna, was a favourite resort for mystics and scholars. Whenever Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din of Hansvi came to Delhi, he stayed with him. He was on such intimate terms with him that he used to address the Hyderi saint as the *Shahbaz-i-Sufaid* (white falcon)⁵. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya also frequently attended audition parties at his *khanqah*⁶. The only saint with whom his relations were far from cordial was Shaikh Nur-u'd-din popularly known as Malik Yar Parran⁷.

Malik Yar Parran was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Daniyal, a saint of the *silsilah-i-Ishaqia*. He used to wear purple clothes and carried purple banners with him⁸. When he reached Delhi during the reign of Balban and decided to settle in the neighbourhood of Sayyid Abu Bakr's *takia*, the latter objected to it and interpreted it as an act of intrusion in his spiritual territory. It was only when he obtained permission from the Sultan to settle in that area that Sayyid Abu Bakr allowed him to pass his days in peace⁹.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, pp. 91-92.

2. For brief notices, see *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 67; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 73.

3. Note particularly the following verses composed in his praise by Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi:

سر پای ترا سرم نثار اولی تر یک سرچم بود بلک هزار اولی تر
در غار وطن ساز چو ابوبکر از انک بو بکر محمدی بغار اولی تر

Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi, Vol. II, pp. 42-43.

4. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 73.

5. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 67.

6. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 73.

7. For brief notices of Malik Yar Parran, see *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 112; *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 67-68; *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS); *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 71-72.

8. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 68.

9. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 68.

One very unfortunate incident in which Sayyid Abu Bakr Tusi and his followers were involved was the execution of Sayyidi Maula. Sayyidi Maula was a saint who came to India from the upper country (ولایت ملک بالا)¹ during the reign of Balban. While on his way to Delhi, he stayed for some time with Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar at Ajodhan². When he sought the Shaikh's permission to leave for Delhi he advised him thus: "Sayyidi! You are going to Delhi and wish to keep an open door and earn fame and honour. You know well what is good for you. But keep in mind an advice of mine. Do not mix with *amirs* and *maliks*. Consider their visits to your house as calamitous. A saint who opens the door of association with *maliks* and *amirs* is doomed³."

Sayyidi Maula came and settled in Delhi. He could not attain any prominence during the reign of Balban but, the general laxity in discipline that followed the accession of Kaiqubad, gave him a chance of establishing a magnificent *khanqah* and attracting huge crowds of visitors. His influence reached its climax during the early years of Sultan Jalal-u'd-din's reign. Khan-i-Khanan, the eldest son of the Sultan, became one of his devotees and the Sayyidi began to treat him as his son⁴.

Sayyidi Maula's bounty and the enormous expenses he incurred in maintaining a *langar* (free kitchen) puzzled all people. Delicacies which were beyond the means of *khans* and *maliks* were served in his *khanqah* at every meal⁵. No body could say with confidence about the sources of his income. Whoever asked him for money, he directed him to a particular place where gold and silver coins, glittering as if fresh from the mint⁶, could be found. He never asked anybody for anything and did not even believe in the current mystic practice of accepting unasked for charity (*futuh*). His life, consequently, became an enigma to his contemporaries who attributed all sort of things to him—magic⁷, sorcery⁸, alchemy⁹ etc.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 208.

2. Barani's account (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 209) gives the impression that Sayyidi Maula stayed with Shaikh Farid only incidentally, but Ferishtah (Vol. I, p. 92) writes on the authority of *Mulhiqat-i-'Ain-u'd-din Bijapuri* that he had come to India with the specific purpose of meeting Shaikh Farid.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 209.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 210.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 208.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 209.

7. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 216; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 73.

8. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 216.

9. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 208.

The Sayyidi had his own eccentric ways. He did not go to the mosque to offer Friday prayers and, though he offered his obligatory prayers regularly, he did not join the congregation¹. But he was not wanting in strenuous spiritual exercises. He did lot of penance and did not spend anything on his personal comfort. Clad in a blanket, he lived a simple and unostentatious life. No personal servant or slave girl looked after him. He was remarkably free from all desires of the flesh².

When Sayyidi's popularity increased³, some intriguers and mischief-mongers gathered round him and sought to exploit the situation to their advantage. Qazi Jalal-u'd-din Kashani, who was notorious for his mischief, began to visit his *khanqah* regularly and often stayed there late into the night. His presence there converted the Sayyidi's retreat into a hot bed of sedition and conspiracy. Many scions of the displaced families of Balban's court who nursed personal grievances against the Sultan further charged the atmosphere with intrigue and chicanery. A former *kotwal*, Brinjtan, and a wrestler of Delhi, Hatya Paik—both of whom had passed their days in luxury during the reign of Balban⁴—found in Sayyidi Maula's *khanqah* an opportunity to fan flames against the Khalji Sultan. Soon the *khanqah* of Sayyidi Maula became the centre of anti-Khalji propaganda and Qazi Jalal, Hatya Paik, Brinjtan and others hatched a conspiracy to kill Jalal-u'd-din Khalji and instal Sayyidi Maula on the throne⁵. Brinjtan and Hatya Paik were to kill the Sultan when the latter came out to offer prayers in the mosque. A daughter of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din was to be married to Sayyidi Maula in order to elevate his family status. Qazi Jalal was to be honoured with the title of Qazi Khan and the *iqta'* of Multan was assigned to him. Other conspirators were also assigned posts and offices⁶.

The conspiracy had almost matured when one of the conspirators divulged it to the Sultan who took prompt action and arrested all the conspirators. When questioned about their intentions, every one denied

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 208.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 208.

3. According to Ferishtah nearly ten thousand people had associated themselves with Sayyidi Maula and had joined the circle of his admirers (Vol. I, p. 93).

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 210. Barani informs us that they had received a lac *jitals* as salary during the reign of Balban.

5. Barani says: می خواهند خلیفه سازند

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 210.

I am not inclined to take the word *khalifa* in its technical sense. Here Barani only means installing him as a ruler.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 210-211.

his complicity in the plot. The Sultan ordered them to pass through the ordeal of fire¹ in order to establish their guiltlessness². The 'ulama, however, declared against punishment by ordeal. "The function of fire is to burn," they said, "it will burn the truthful as well as the liar." Since there was only one witness to the conspiracy, the charges against Sayyidi Maula remained unproved and legally no action could be taken on a solitary evidence. The Sultan got exasperated. He exiled the conspirators and confiscated all their properties. The two arch-conspirators, Kotwal Brinjtan and Hatya Paik were executed³.

Sayyidi Maula was then brought before the Sultan in chains and fetters. The Sultan himself began to cross examine him but could not extort a confession from him. He then turned towards Shaikh Abu Bakr Tusi who was present there with his followers and said: "O! Dervishes! Get me justice from this Maula." On hearing this appeal, Bahri, a reckless Hyderi, rushed forward and began to torture Sayyidi Maula with some sharp-edged instrument. Then Arkali Khan beacons to an elephant-driver who crushed Sayyidi under the feet of an elephant⁴.

It is difficult to determine the extent of Sayyidi Maula's complicity in this conspiracy to assassinate Jalal-u'd-din. Probably he was exploited and used by elements hostile to the group then in power at the court. Yahya Sirhindi says that the charge of conspiracy against him was concocted by Malik Ulghu⁵. 'Isami holds some 'misguided mystics' (خرقه پوشان خام) responsible for his execution. He says that these people had, out of mischief, implicated Sayyidi Maula in this conspiracy. He further says that the Sultan was in Mandawar when Sayyidi Maula was arrested and all these proceedings against him had taken place without the permission of the Sultan⁶. 'Isami differs from Barani in many essential details. But when all facts and circumstances are kept in mind the conclusion cannot be avoided that rivalry between Khan-i-khanan and Arkali Khan was largely responsible for this unhappy episode. Probably the Sayyidi's secret source of income lay in the imperial palace itself.

1. Trial by ordeal was practised in Hindu India, see the accounts of Sulayman and Ibn Rusta in Nainar's *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of South India*, pp. 109-110.

2. Barani says that a fierce fire was lighted at Baharpur and the Sultan had gone there with his nobles and the 'ulama of the city, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 211.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 211.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 211.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 65-67.

6. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 216.

The reaction of the credulous people of those days to the execution of Sayyidi Maula may be read in the pages of the contemporary historians. Both Barani and 'Isami say that divine wrath followed this unjust execution. "I myself remember," writes Barani, "that a black dust storm arose on the day of Sayyidi Maula's execution and the world became dark.....famine stalked the land and due to dearth of food people drowned themselves into the Jumna¹." All this, Barani would have us believe, was due to the execution of Sayyidi Maula and was not a case of natural draught. His account, however, gives an idea of the credulous tendencies of the middle ages. The way in which Sayyid Abu Bakr and his disciples had played a leading role in the execution of Sayyidi Maula could not but antagonize public opinion against him and the Hyderi *qalandars*.

B. The Isma'ilis

The political influence of the Isma'ilis was first established in Multan by Jalam b. Shayban in 373 A.H./983 A.D. He issued coins in the name of the Fatimid Caliph and acknowledged him as the legal sovereign. For more than a century Multan and Mansura continued to owe allegiance to the Fatimids of Egypt. With the rise of Ghaznin, the political power of the Isma'ilis received a set back. Hamid, the Isma'ili ruler of Upper Sindh adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Subuktigin and kept him pleased with occasional presents. But his grandson, Abu Fath Da'ud, abandoned this policy of conciliation and appeasement and strained his relations with Sultan Mahmud. In 1005-1006, Sultan Mahmud marched against him and forced him to recant from his heretic views. Da'ud promised to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 *dirhams*. But this treaty could not stabilize relations between Multan and Ghaznin and within five years Mahmud reappeared in Multan and murdered a very large number of Isma'ilis. Da'ud ended his life as a prisoner in the fort of Ghurak, some fifty miles from Qandhar. But Mahmud's military operations could not extirpate completely the Isma'ili influence in Sind and Mansura. Hundred and fifty years later, when Shihab-u'd-din of Ghur appeared on the Indian scene, the Isma'ili influence was a factor to be reckoned with. The Ghurid prince adopted an attitude of uncompromising sternness towards them².

According to Minhaj there were 105 forts of the Isma'ilis, 70 in Quhistan and the rest in Alamut³. Shihab-u'd-din plundered Quhistan and gave a rude shock to Isma'ili power in one of its strongest centres.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 212.

2. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-din Mubarak Shah*, pp. 19-20.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 418; *Raverty*, pp. 1205-1206.

The existence of an Isma'ili principality in India was a strategic danger for Shihab-u'd-din. He could not organize his Indian campaigns so long as an Isma'ili principality existed in Sindh. In 571 A.H./1175 A.D. Shihab-u'd-din attacked their Indian strongholds and nearly liquidated them¹. Referring to the results of this attack, W. Ivanow remarks: "The Isma'ilis were partly massacred, but the majority went underground living in the guise of Hindus²."

The extinction of the political power of the Isma'ilis in India embittered their attitude towards the Shansabanians and the Ilbarites. They retaliated by resorting to assassination and secret methods of hostile propaganda³. In 1206, when Shihab-u'd-din was going back to Ghaznin, after chastizing the Khokars, he halted on the Indus at a place called Damyak. Here some Isma'ili fanatics⁴ assassinated him while he was offering his evening prayers. This assassination made the early Sultans of Delhi inveterate enemies of Isma'ilism and other allied cults.

"About a hundred years or so later," remarks Ivanow, "a wave of Isma'ili refugees from the Mongol invasion of Persia, apparently reached Sind. It is probable that their religious leaders, in the guise of dervishes, soon discovered and came in contact with the remnants of the earlier community, and that by making use of their doctrine which formed a transition between Ismailism, Sufism and Hinduism, they greatly expanded their numbers⁵."

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 116.

Minhaj very jubilantly remarks: "He delivered Multan from the hands of the Qaramatah."

2. *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*, p. 20.

3. On the Ismaili "Patterns of Assassinations and Massacre," see Marshall G. Hodgson's scholarly study, *The Order of Assassins*, (pp. 110-115).

4. There is some difference of opinion among the authorities on this point. Wassaf (*Tarikh-i-Guzidah*, Vol. I, p. 412), Ibn-i-Asir (Vol. II, p. 82), Bada'uni (*Muntakhab-u't-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 52), and Nizam-u'd-din (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 40) say that the Khokars had planned it. Others, like Zahabi (*Duwal-u'l-Islam*, II, p. 82) Minhaj (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 124) and Yahya Sirhindi (*Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 12) hold the *Mulahidah* responsible for this assassination. Ibn-i-Asir says that when the assassins were secured, two among them were found to be circumcised (i.e. were Mussalmans). In all probability this was a joint work of the Khokars and the *Mulahidah* (*Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Habibullah, p. 79). Both of them were hostile to the Sultan and the *Mulahidah* who were experts in secret methods of assassination could very well join hands with Khokars in accomplishing a common objective. Ibn-i-Asir says that after the murder some mischievous persons got it circulated that Imam Razi was aware of the *Mulahidah* intentions and had deliberately refrained from divulging the conspiracy. The people became furious and thought of doing harm to the Imam who sought shelter with Mu'ayyid-u'd-Mulk (Vol. 12, p. 83 as cited in *Imam Razi*, Abdus Salam Nadavi, pp. 121-123).

5. *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism*, W. Ivanow, p. 20.

Twice during the period under review, the Isma'ilis, called *Mulahidah* by their Sunni contemporaries, sought to create disorder and lawlessness in Delhi, but the Muslim public opinion was so hostile towards them that they did not succeed in their attempt to bring about a *coup d'etat*. The first organized effort to achieve this objective was made during the reign of Iltutmish, probably after his investiture from the Caliph of Baghdad. They collected together in Delhi from all sides and raised a tumult in the mosque with the object of capturing the city and killing the king. They were, however, suppressed by force¹.

A second attempt to disturb the peace of the capital was made by Nur Turk during the reign of Razia. Nur Turk was a man of intensely religious temperament. He led the simple and austere life of mystics. His only means of livelihood was a *dang* per day which his freed slave gave to him². So long as he lived in Delhi he did not accept anything from anybody. Razia once sent a bag of gold coins to him. He beat the bag with his stick and scornfully returned the money to the Sultan³. A man of austere and simple ways as he was, Nur Turk did not like the ways of the '*ulama* whom he found wallowing in the dirty waters of politics. He condemned them roundly for their greed of gold and glory. Minhaj was naturally chagrined on this criticism which applied to him as much as to anybody else and retaliated by painting him in lurid colours⁴. However, Minhaj's version about Nur Turk is that he was a leader of the *Mulahidah*⁵. He collected together his devotees from the neighbourhood of Delhi, Gujarat, Sindh and the Doab and started a campaign of criticism against the '*ulama*. He and his followers condemned the Hanafi and the Shafi'i doctrines and dubbed the Sunni '*ulama* as *Nasibi*⁶ and *Murji*⁷. On Rajab 6,634/1237 A.D.,

1. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 122. No other medieval historian, not even Minhaj, has referred to this rising of the *Mulahidah*. Since 'Isami has not referred to Nur Turk's revolt during the reign of Razia, the possibility of his confusing it with a later event cannot be ruled out.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 199.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 199; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 74.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 199.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 189-190.

6. Amir Hasan asked Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya to explain these terms. The Shaikh replied: ناجی رافضی را گویند و مرجی طائفه را گویند که هر جا رجا کند
Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad, p. 199.

7. *Murjiah* literally means procrastinators. A Muslim sect which believes that the judgment of every true believer who hath been guilty of a grievous sin will be deferred till the Resurrection; for which reason they pass no sentence on him in the world, either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hurteth not, and that on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not. As to the reason of their name there is difference of opinion. Some think that they are so called because they postpone works to intention, and profession of the faith; others because they allow hope by asserting that disobedience with faith hurteth not etc.; others take the reason of the name to be, their deferring the sentence of the sinner to the Day of Resurrection; and others their degrading of 'Ali. For details, *Dictionary of Islam*, Hughes, pp. 421-422.

one thousand armed *Mulahidah* entered the Juma' Masjid from two directions and killed a number of the Mussalmans. When confusion and panic spread, some persons led by Nasir-u'd-din Balrami and Imam Nasir rushed from the city armed with weapons. They fought with the *Mulahidah* while the Mussalmans hurled stones at the miscreants from the mosque¹.

This is Minhaj's account of the rising which should be taken with a grain of salt. The following facts deserve careful consideration in this context:

(i) Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya very feelingly asserts that Nur Turk was purer than the rain water², and the charges against him were maliciously cooked by Minhaj. (ii) A scholar belonging to the *Mulahidah* sect could not have been reverentially mentioned by scholars like Amir Khurd and Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haq Muhaddis as "*Maulana Nur Turk*³." (iii) Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haq could not have included him in his calendar of the Indo-Muslim saints if he had been associated with any heretic group. (iv) Razia could never have thought of sending money to a member of the *Mulahidah* sect, for it was the declared policy of all Sunni rulers owing allegiance to the 'Abbasid Caliphate to take stern measures against the heretics. (v) If he had been one of the *Mulahidah*, Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar would not have gone to attend his sermon. (vi) On leaving India, Nur Turk went to Mecca and settled there. No scholar of the *Mulahidah* would have been allowed to live like that in the sacred city of Mecca. The Nur Turk episode, therefore, is not a clear case of *Mulahidah* activities in Delhi. Its real nature has been obscured by the conflicts and controversies that marred the relations of Nur Turk with the Sunni 'ulama of the day.

It is, however, certain that more than once the Isma'ilis sought to upset the peace and tranquillity of the capital and, though politically they had been liquidated long before, their secret activities continued for many decades more. The *ashab-i-ibahat* against whom Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji took severe measures and the various heretic groups to whom Firoz Shah Tughluq refers in his *Futuhāt*, were off-shoots of the Isma'ili tendencies and it is difficult to believe that the inquisitorial attitude of the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi succeeded in crushing this heresy root and branch.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 189-190.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 199.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 62; *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 74.

C. The *Qalandars* and the *Jawaliqs*

The contemporary religious records refer to the presence of a large number of *qalandars* and *jawaliqs* in India during the thirteenth century.

Literally the word *qalandar* means a person who is free of all cares of this and the next world. In mystic terminology, however, it has a special significance. It denotes the member of a religious order called *qalandaria*, founded by a Spanish Arab of Egypt, named Yusuf¹ or by Mufti Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din of Sawa², in Persia, who according to Ibn Battuta settled in Damietta and ended his days there. The first *qalandar* saint who reached here was Shah Khizr, a contemporary of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki³.

There is considerable difference of opinion about the place and time of the origin of this order. According to Franz Babinger, the *qalandars* "seem to have originated in Central Asia and to have been strongly influenced by Indian ideas⁴." Maqrizi is, however, of the opinion that the first *qalandar* appeared in Damascus in 610 A.H./1213 A.D.⁵

The members of the *qalandaria* order usually shaved off their heads, eyebrows, beards and moustaches⁶. They did not wear the traditional mystic *khirqah*, but wrapped their body with a blanket, often a coloured one, and fastened either a piece of blanket or a small sheet of cotton round the loins⁷. Those who wrapped the blanket round their body were called *jawaliq*. The *qalandars* believed in a care-free life "with an utter neglect of the laws of religion or the forms of society⁸."

The *qalandars* and the *jawaliqs* always created some situation when they visited a *khanqah* or a *jama'at khanah*. They were insolently bold and refused to conform to any established tradition or convention of society. Unlike mystics they believed in violence and intimidation. Some incidents recorded in medieval works show that very often their behaviour was

1. *The Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 676.

2. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 131. Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh was eloquent in praise of Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din. "He was a moving library. Whoever brought his difficulties to him, he resolved them instantly," he told his audience.

3. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 49.

4. *The Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 677.

5. *Al-Khitat* (Bulaq 1270 A.H.), Vol. II, p. 433, as cited in the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 677.

6. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p. 108.

7. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 131.

8. *The Ency. of Islam*, Vol. III, p. 677.

erratic and insolent. Once Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya did not fulfil their demands. They gathered round his *khanqah* in large numbers and began to pelt it. The Shaikh ordered the gates of his *khanqah* to be closed, but soon he realized that such an attitude could merely embolden them in their designs. "I have been ordered to sit here by Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din. I have not set up all this of my own accord. I have been put here by a *man*," he told his disciples and ordered them to throw open the gates. The *qalandars* were deeply moved by this remark. They apologized and left the *khanqah*¹.

Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya had decided not to welcome *qalandars* or *jawaliqs* to his portals². But welcomed or not, they persisted in their ways. Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar was always ready to receive *qalandars* and the *jawaliqs* in his *khanqah*, but he did not escape their criticism and insolent treatment. One day a *qalandar* came to the *jama'at khanah* of Shaikh Farid at a time when the Shaikh was busy in his devotions in his room. He sat down on the Shaikh's prayer-carpet outside the *hujrah*. Maulana Badr-u'd-din Ishaq entertained him and brought food for him. Having enjoyed the food, the *qalandar* took out some hemp-leaves from his leathern bag and began to prepare a mixture. Some drops fell on the Shaikh's prayer-carpet. Maulana Badr-u'd-din's patience was now exhausted. He stepped forward and tried to stop the *qalandar* from polluting the Shaikh's prayer-carpet. The *qalandar* got enraged and was about to hit his bowl on Maulana Ishaq that Shaikh Farid came out from his room and caught the *qalandar's* hand. "Forgive him for my sake," said Shaikh Farid. "The *dervishes* do not raise their hands", replied the *qalandar*, "but when they do so they do not take them down". "Throw it on that wall," said Shaikh Farid. The *qalandar* threw the pot on a wall³ and left the *jama'at khanah*.

V. Religious Functions and Festivals

Our information about the religious functions and festivals of the Indian Muslims during the 13th century is very meagre. The contemporary records refer either to the festivals celebrated at the courts or to the ceremonies of the *khanqahs*. While the convivial element predominated over the festivals celebrated at the court, the functions at the *khanqahs* had a mystic veneer. Little is known about the popular religious festivals.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 48.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 5.

3. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 130-131.

Orthodox Islam sanctioned only two festivals in which some element of rejoicing was present and these were the two 'Eids. Muslims of every social status celebrated them. The desire to entertain visitors on this occasion was so common that even saints who were normally proud of their poverty, did not like to be absolutely destitute on 'Eid days¹. Large scale distribution of presents, known as 'Eidis, was a regular feature of 'Eid celebrations².

The month of *Ramazan* was considered to be the most sacred of all months³ and was, therefore, characterized by brisk religious activities. A change in the daily routine of life was unavoidable during this month. Elaborate and meticulous programme of religious devotions, from the small hours of the morning till late into the night, was usually followed. Even the atmosphere at the court did not remain unaffected by it. It is said that Iltutmish used to hold daily sermon meetings during the month of *Ramazan*⁴. If any Sultan neglected fasting during this month, he exposed himself to criticism⁵. One was expected to devote his fasting hours to some honest work or religious devotions. Amir Khusrau has condemned those people who gambled or played chess in order to while away the exacting hours of fasting⁶. *Taravi*⁷ prayers were regularly offered in mosques. At some places the Imam recited as much as three *paras* of the Quran every night⁸.

The *Shab Barat*⁹ was celebrated in orthodox circles by offering prayers throughout the night. It appears that in India these prayers were sometimes offered in congregation also¹⁰. Common people celebrated the festival by large scale illuminations. During the reign of Balban young boys used to floodlit the city on this night. There was a popular custom to send 'candle

1. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 75-76.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 55. A saint of Lahore turns to God on an 'Eid day and says:

امروز عید است هر بنده از خواجۀ خود عیدی بیابد مراهم عیدی بده

3. See Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi's poem on *Hilal-i-Ramazan*, *Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din*, Vol. II, pp. 214-215. Also, *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 325.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 175.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 54.

6. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Part IV, p. 303.

7. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Part IV, p. 305.

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 6;

I'jaz-i-Khusravi, Part IV, p. 324.

9. It is celebrated on the 14th night of *Sha'ban*.

10. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 88.

lamps' to the mosques¹. The use of fire-works and crackers to celebrate the *Shab Barat*, which was introduced at the popular level, was probably copied from the Christians and the Hindus². In the next century Firoz Shah Tughluq made large scale preparations for celebrating the *Shab Barat* by using fire-works and crackers. Some eminent religious men did not approve of this practice of using fireworks³.

Special prayers were offered during the *Shab-i-Qadar*⁴. These prayers were, however, confined to religious-minded men. Of the Sultans, Balban is reported to have offered these prayers⁵. Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi composed the following verses about the *Shab-i-Qadar*⁶:

امشب که لقای لیلة القدر بتافت کوئی ز سهر طلعت بدر بتافت
تا ظلمت زلت و معاصی بهرد چون شمع بر افروخته در صدر بتافت

The tragedy of Karbala was commemorated in India⁷ by holding sermon meetings during the first ten days of the month of *Muharram*⁸. A book describing the incidents of the tragedy, known as *Maqal-i-Husain*, was in great demand during this month⁹.

The *Nauroz*, a Persian festival, was regularly celebrated at the court¹⁰, but some contemporary religious leaders strongly objected to these celebrations. Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi says¹¹:

1. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Part IV, p. 324. Amir Khusrau thus describes the scene:

طفلان بهشتی که آتش دوزخ برایشان حرام است بازی آتش را برخود حلال
پنداشته و همه شهر از گلزار چراغ گلستان خلیل گشته - هرکس بتدر روشنائی
حال خویش چراغی چلد سوئی مسجد می فرستد -

2. See, *The Renaissance of Islam*, p. 421.

3. *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah*, (MS).

4. Its precise date is not known. Generally it is believed that it falls on the 27th night of the month of *Ramazan*.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 231-232.

6. *Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi*, pp. 74, 215-216. See also Amir Khusrau's letter to Khwaja Badr-u'd-din about *Shab-i-Qadar*, *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 326.

7. See *Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi*, Vol. II, p. 210, for *Marsiya Amir-u'i-Muminin Husain*.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 175, 192.

9. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, p. 328. Amir Khusrau refused to lend this work to a friend as his copy was in a damaged condition.

10. See *supra*, p. 44, n. 3.

11. *Diwan-i-Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi*, p. 228.

نو روز که در دین محمد نه رواست
 از راه هوا کسی که نوروز کند
 هر نفس که گفت دیو کین نوروز کند
 نو روز چو موسم جهود ترسا است
 چون فصل بهار عالم افروز کند
 نو روز مکن اگر مسلمانی زانک
 چون دشمن دین تست شیطان حسود
 تا روضه ایمان تو ماند خورم

ترسا و جهود را بدو میل و هواست
 آن شخص متابع جهود و ترسا است
 دل را هدف تیر جگر دوز کند
 مومن نبود کسی که نو روز کند
 مر باغ و چمن را طرب آموز کند
 ترسا و مغ و جهود نو روز کند
 ایمن مشو از سکاکی آن مردود
 نو روز مکن بسان ترسا و جهود

The following list of extra prayers, as given by Imam Ghazzali in his *Ihya-u'l-'Ulum* has been approvingly quoted and recommended by contemporary religious teachers:

A. Daily Prayers:

Excluding the five-time obligatory prayers, three other prayers were recommended—*Chasht*, *Ishraq*, *Tahajjud*.¹

B. Weekly Prayers:

Prayers offered on Saturdays and on Sundays.

C. Monthly Prayers:

Twenty genuflections of prayers on the first of every lunar month.

D. Yearly Prayers:

These were prayers offered on the occasion of the two '*Eids* and the *Taravi* prayers offered during the month of *Ramazan* and prayers offered during the *Shab Barat*.

E. Special Prayers:

Special prayers were recommended on the eve of sun eclipse, moon eclipse and during the days of scarcity and famine².

Besides these prayers which formed part of a programme of religious devotions for the Muslim public, there were prayers for specific purposes, e.g.

(a) prayers for longevity of life³,

1. See *supra*, p. 197 n. 1.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 87-88.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 23. The particular night on which these prayers were offered was known as *lailat-u'l-ragha'ib*.

- (b) prayers for seeking interview with Khizr¹,
- (c) prayers known as *namaz-i-Khwaja Uwais Qarani* for acquiring knowledge².

VI. Some Superstitions

The element of superstition was very deep in medieval mind. Even some eminent religious thinkers of the age could not rise above it. There was widespread faith in witchcraft, sorcery and magic. It was believed that serious ailments could be created through magic. Shihab, a magician of Ajodhan, was once held responsible for a protracted illness of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar. The saint sent some of his disciples to a graveyard where they recited a particular formulae and discovered near a grave a small statue with needles pricked all over it. When this statue was taken out and its needles were removed, the Shaikh, it is said, recovered from his illness. Once Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya also fell ill and an expert magician was invited to dispel the effect of magic from him. The man moved round the house of the Shaikh, taking up dust and smelling it and, ultimately, he discovered at a place certain things which were believed to be responsible for magical influence on the Shaikh³. In certain cases the government also expressed its willingness to prosecute a person against whom charges of affecting magical influences were brought⁴.

It was popularly believed that prayers at the graves of martyrs were very efficacious in averting ailments and misfortunes. When Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's mother fell ill she sent her son to the grave of various martyr-saints to pray for her recovery⁵. Similar was the practice of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar⁶. Otherwise too, visits to graves of saints and religious men were considered spiritually blissful and all sorts of people—kings, nobles, mystics, traders, villagers and townfolk—visited them⁷. Strange superstitions came to be associated with graves. It was believed that whoever prayed at the tomb of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din, his prayers were granted⁸.

1. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 21.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 23.

3. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 178; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 116-117.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 178. When the Governor of Ajodhan came to know that Shaikh Farid's illness was due to magic and the magician's name was found out, he offered to punish the magician but the Shaikh expressed his unwillingness to accept the offer of the Governor. See also *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, pp. 39-40.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 59.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 59.

7. For Balban's visits to graves after Friday prayers, see Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 46.

8. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), p. 14.

The dust of the grave of Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Mahmud b. Abul Khair As'ad was given to children for their intellectual enlightenment¹. People took away bricks from the tomb of Khwaja Mahmud Muinadoz, a disciple of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, and, when their prayers were granted, distributed sugar of equal weight². Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh told people that prayers at the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Turk at Narnaul resolved all difficulties³. Of the seven days of a week, Wednesday was considered inauspicious. Large number of people visited saints and pious men on every Wednesday in order to dispel its evil effects⁴. Birth of children on certain days was considered ominous. A Sayyid family of Bada'un handed over to a sweeperess (*kannasiya*) a child born on a particular day when the moon was in *Burj-i-'Aqrab* (Zodiac Scorpio)⁵.

The extent to which the credulous piety of the age tolerated religious eccentrics and maniacs may be gauged from the following incident recorded by 'Isami. An eccentric *qazi* lived in Delhi on the upper storey of a house overlooking a thoroughfare. All the time he was seen sitting at the window and whoever happened to pass by, he immediately hurled a stone at him. His slave, Yaqut, was always in his attendance with two whips and some rings. Whenever the *qazi* saw any body wearing a ring, he harshly summoned him to his presence and asked him to part with it. Yaqut was then asked to whip the person. People submitted to these humiliations and tortures without murmur. When this mad *qazi* rode out through the streets of Delhi, cries of "Get aside", "Get aside" rent the atmosphere. One day 'Ala-u'd-din, then a prince, passed by the window of the *qazi* who hurriedly came down and ran after him. He took a ring from Yaqut and put it in the finger of 'Ala-u'd-din who accepted it as a happy omen predicting great future⁶.

It is also said that when Sayyid Maula's execution was followed by cyclones, famine and other calamities, it was this mad *qazi* who stood up on the pulpit and fervently prayed to God for averting the distress of the people⁷.

An idea of the extent to which superstitious elements had entered the life of the medieval Indian Mussalmans may be had from a perusal of the fabricated *malfuz* literature of this period. There is hardly any aspect of life

1. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 46.

2. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 49.

3. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 47.

4. For Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's disapproval of this superstition, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 119.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 243.

6. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 224-226.

7. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 219-220.

and thought which has not been presented in superstitious colours. All interceptions of heavenly bodies have been interpreted as indications of Divine fury and their influence on human affairs has been described as a series of punishments for human derelictions¹.

Many superstitions had come to be associated with cities and urban life. It was believed that all cities would degenerate completely before the Doms Day.

The Abyssinians would destroy Mecca; Madina would suffer due to scarcity and people would die of starvation in large numbers. Basra, Iraq and Meshed would be destroyed on account of drunkards. Syria would be destroyed by the atrocities of its rulers.....Rum would suffer on account of the homosexual habits of its people. Khurasan and Balkh would be destroyed on account of the dishonesty of traders. The Muslims would take to usury and would become carrion eaters.....Khwarizm and the region around it would suffer on account of drinking and convivialism. Sistan would be subjected to storms and gales. Earthquakes would become frequent and would destroy people living in the neighbourhood. Egypt and Damascus would be destroyed on account of their misbehaviour towards women.....The desolation of Sind and Hind would be due to disturbances, caused by rapes and drinking.....Then Imam Mehdi would appear.

If superstitions are, in ultimate analysis, expressions of fears, inhibitions and dislikes of a people, the above extract may be interpreted as an indication of the disapproval of the prevailing trends in the development of urban life by the medieval religious classes.

VII. Some Religious Controversies

Hairsplitting theological squabbles were a feature of Muslim religious life during the middle ages. Apart from controversies which had a purely ideological basis, some religious practices also came in for criticism.

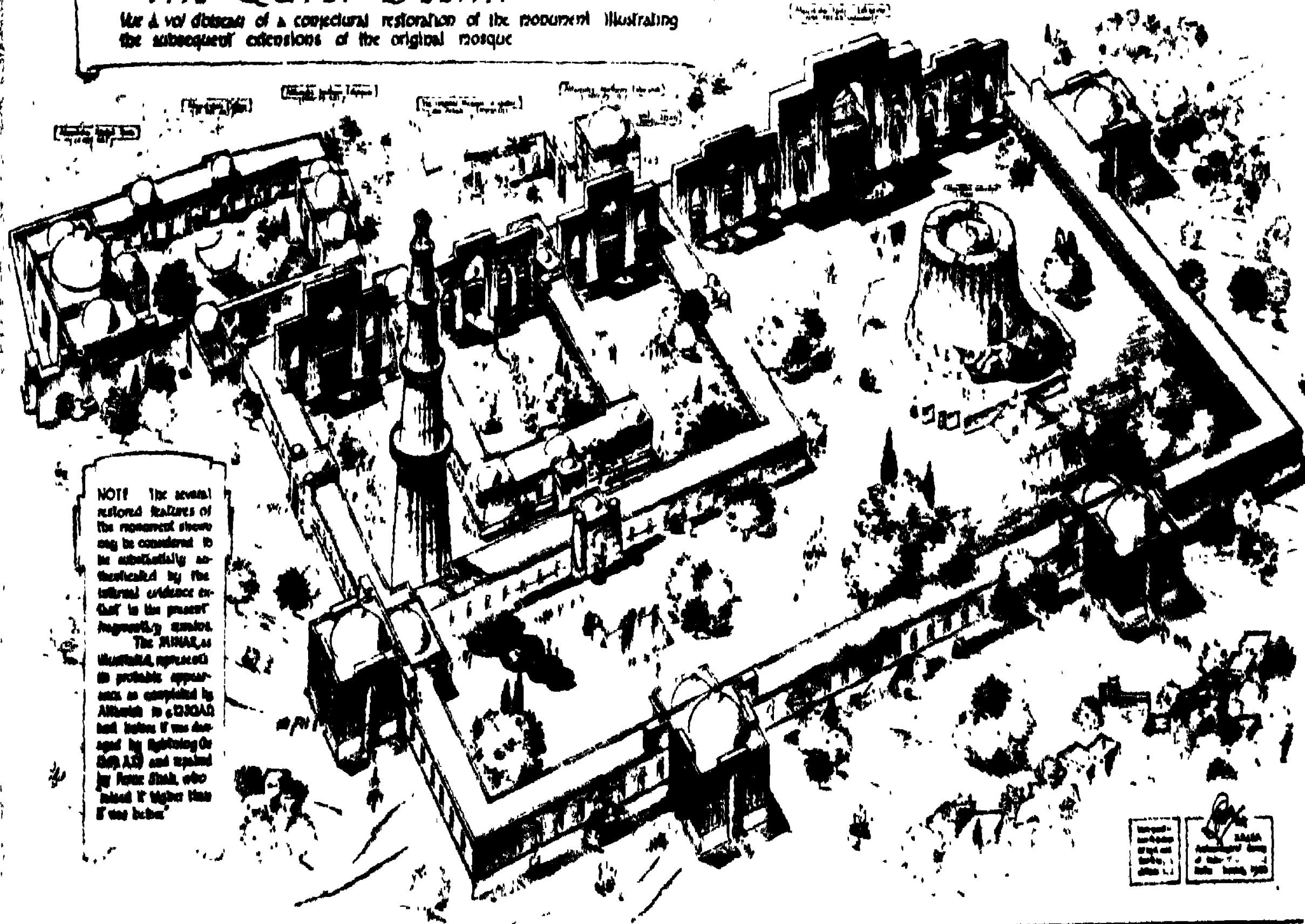
One of the most popular mystic practices which became a subject of great controversy during the thirteenth century was the institution of *sama'* (audition parties). Amongst the notables of Delhi, Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri and Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki were very fond of hearing *sama'*². Some mystics kept musicians in their service permanently. Two eminent *qazis* of Delhi, Qazi Sa'd and Qazi 'Imad, considered this institution to be illegal. They protested against it and approached Iltutmish to stop it in the capital. The Sultan summoned a *mahzar* to discuss

1. *Anis-u'l-Arwah*, pp. 6-7.

2. *Anis-u'l-Arwah*, pp. 7-8.

THE QUTB, DELHI.

Use & vol. of detail of a conjectural restoration of the monument illustrating the subsequent extensions of the original mosque



Restored Features of the Minar and the Mosque

the legal aspect of the problem and invited Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri to participate in it. When Qazi Hamid-u'd-din reached the court, Iltutmish got up to receive him and showed great respect to him. On being asked about the legality of *sama'*, Qazi Hamid-u'd-din replied that it was permitted for the mystics but was prohibited for the externalists. He then reminded Iltutmish of an old incident: "One day," the Qazi told him, "forty Sufis held a *Sama'* gathering in Baghdad. You and I both were present there. You were a mere boy then and, without being asked to do so, you kept cutting the burnt wick of the candle. That night the mystics assigned to you the kingdom of Hindustan." When Iltutmish recollected the incident, he was obviously moved. Qazi Hamid-u'd-din noticed a change in the Sultan's attitude and asked his *qawwal*, Mahmud, to recite some verses. The Qazi fell into ecstasy and though fire and thorns were placed in his way he neither took any notice of them nor stopped dancing. Iltutmish took him to his *khanqah* and arranged for a dinner and a music party there. 'Isami has quoted this story¹; but its authenticity cannot be established in all its details. It is probably based on legends which 'Isami found floating down the stream of time more than one hundred years after the death of the Sultan. It is, however, certain that there were frequent protests by the orthodox '*ulama* against the mystic institution of *sama'*. But the '*ulama* could not place an interdict on it. One of the most important *qazis* of the empire during the thirteenth century, Maulana Minhaj-u's-Siraj, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, supported the view point of the mystics. It is said that it was he who gave legal sanction to the institution of *sama'* in India².

VIII. Centres of religious activities:

The *masjid* (mosque), the *madrasah* (school), the *maqbara* (tomb) and the *khanqah* (hospice) were the four main centres of religious activity in India during the 13th century. Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri used to say that the purpose of constructing a *khanqah*³, a *masjid* or a *hujrah* was to discipline the inner life of man. This is no doubt true but these places had a social significance also and occupied a pivotal place in the community-life of the Mussalmans.

The mosques were not used merely for offering congregational prayers; *tazkir* meetings were also held there. Besides, *siyyum*⁴ ceremonies, which usually comprised of recitation of the *Quran* to bless the soul of the departed,

1. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, pp. 117-119.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 239.

3. *Sarur-u's-Sudur* (MS), pp. 59-60.

4. So called because they are held on the third day after death.

were usually held in mosques. Educational institutions of different categories and standards were also attached with mosques.

The character of a mosque was determined by the locality in which it was situated. The conversion of the earliest mosque of Amroha constructed by Kaiqubad into Saddu's hospice¹—where all sorts of prohibited acts including sacrificial offerings for Saddu came to be performed—was due to the impact of environmental forces. The principal mosque in the capital town was usually a great centre of learning. Mosques in *qasbahs* and villages catered to the religious needs of the Muslim population living around it. A *madrasah* attached to a village mosque confined its instructional functions to merely teaching the *Quran* to children. Mosques situated in out-of-the-way places were sometimes used by mystics for performing certain spiritual exercises². Since there were no restrictions on stay in the mosques, one who had no place to hide his head found shelter there³.

The *madrasahs* maintained by the State had an atmosphere of affluence and plenty but a very large number of institutions, established and maintained by individual scholars, worked under extremely difficult circumstances. Probably these scholars did not charge any regular fees from their pupils and subsisted on casual *futuh*. The religious activity in the *madrasahs* was primarily intellectual. Symposia and debates were a regular features of these institutions⁴.

The *khanqah* was another great centre of religious activity during the period⁵. But no theological discussion or *manazara* was permitted there. Books were no doubt taught but these books were either on *tafsir* or on *tasawwuf*. Emphasis was laid here on the discipline of inner life and emotional integration in the light of religious teachings rather than intellectual advancement through casuistry.

Mausoleums also were centres of brisk activity. Ibn Battuta informs us that four hundred and sixty persons were employed at the tomb of Sultan Qutb-u'd-din Mubarak Shah to perform different religious services. "I appointed" he says, "one hundred and fifty reciters of the *Quran* who are known as *khatmi*, eighty students, eight repeaters called *mukarrarin*, one

1. For an account of Saddu, see. *Tarikh-i-Amroha*.

2. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 69. Shaikh Farid performed *Chillah-i-Ma'kus* in a mosque at Uchch. See also *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 170.

3. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 110.

4. It was on account of his pre-eminent debating qualities during his school-days in Delhi that Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya became known as *bahhas* and *mahfil shikan*, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 101

5. See *supra* pp. 59-60



Kaiqubadi Mosque of Amroha

It bears the following inscription:

امر ببناء هذا العمارت المسجد المباركة في عهد دولته السلطان المعظم
 ظل الله في العالم معرا ديننا و الدين المخصوص بعباد رب العالمين التمام بتأييد
 الرحمن ابوالمظفر كيقباز السلطان خاد الله ماله و ساداته العبد الضعيف الراجي
 الى رحمة الرباني عزيز سلطاني في الغرة من شهر المبارك رمضان سنة ست و ثمانين
 مائة -

professor and eighty *sufis*, and I appointed an *imam*, *muezzins*, pleasant-voiced readers, panegyrists and clerks who might register the absentees, as well as the ushers. All these people in this country are known as *arbab*. Further I appointed another class of functionaries known as domestics (*hashia*), namely the valets, the cooks, the running footmen (*davadavia*), the water-bearers (*abdariya* that is the *saqqaun*), the sherbet dispensers, the betel-givers, the arms-bearers, the spear-bearers, the umbrella-bearers, the laver-carriers, the chamberlains and the heralds—all these numbering four hundred and sixty...On the occasion of the great festivals—the two ‘Ids, the birth day of the Prophet, the 10th of Muharram (*ashura*), the night of mid-*Sha’ban* and the day of Sultan Qutb-u’d-din’s death—I used a hundred maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat with which I fed the poor and indigent.” He further writes: “It is a custom among the Indians to provide for their dead in the same way as they do during their life time. They bring elephants and horses to the tomb and tie them near its gate and the tomb is highly decorated.”¹

Besides, some graveyards were chosen by mystics for performing spiritual practices which required a lonely corner. The lachrmial atmosphere of the graveyards suited their temperament and they preferred to spend as much of their time in the groves of the graveyards as possible². Some tombs had memorial mosques associated with them.

Sometimes people assembled at the graves of saints or Sultans to have some oath of allegiance or to make some vow³. Some of the mystics got *dastars* tied on their heads at the grave of some eminent mystic⁴; nobles took oath of fealty at the grave of some eminent Sultan⁵. Ibn Battuta says about *Dar-ul-Amn*, the place where Balban was buried: “One of his (Balban’s) good deeds was the building of a house called the house of safety (*Dar-ul-Amn*). The debtor who entered it had his debt paid by the sultan, and whoever sought refuge in it for fear was safe. And whoever entered

1. *The Rehla*, pp. 141-142.

Cf with the Mongol custom: “.....and among that people it is the usage, when one of them dies, to prepare a palace under ground about the size of a chamber or hall, in largeness proportionate to the rank and degree of the accursed one who may have departed to hell. They furnish it with a throne and covering for the ground, and they place there vessels and numerous effects, together with his arms and weapons, and whatever may have been his own private property, and some of his wives, and slaves, male or female, and the person he loved most above all others. When they have placed that accursed one upon the throne, they bury his most beloved along with him in that place. In the night-time the place is covered up.” *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 407; Raverty, p. 1173.

2. *Khair-u’l-Majalis*, pp. 170-171; *Siyar-u’l-Auliya*, p. 90.

3. *Siyar-u’l-Auliya*, p. 150-151.

4. *Siyar-u’l-Auliya*, p. 194.

5. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 269.

it after having killed somebody, the sultan interceded on his behalf to conciliate the heirs of the deceased. And if a criminal sought shelter in it his pursuers were accorded satisfaction. It was in this house that he (Balban) was buried.”¹

Visitors from different parts of the country visited the graves of eminent saints² and sometimes particular festivals came to be celebrated round the graves of these saints. In Bahraich, the mausoleum of Sayyid Salar Mas‘ud Ghazi became a centre of festivities³. A religious gathering during the days of *tashriq*⁴, known as *Khatm-i-Maulana Maji Haji*⁵, became a regular feature at the grave of Maulana Majd-din-Haji, a contemporary of Iltutmish. Most of the festivities and functions at the graves bear an obvious influence of Hindu customs.

One of the busiest centre of religious activity in Delhi was the *Hauz-i-Shamsi*. Large number of people visited this place. It appears from the *Miftah-u’t-Talibin* that different areas of this locality were known for different reasons. One of the quarters of this locality was called *Makan-i-Khizr*⁶ and it was believed that one could have an interview with Khizr if he performed certain religious practices there. Another area was known as *Maqam-i-Jinn* which was supposed to be frequented by supernatural beings. Mystics assembled on the bank of this Hauz and offered prayers on full-moon nights⁷. Some mystics arranged meetings on the banks of this *Hauz* for conferring *khirqahs* to their disciples⁸. The old ‘*Eid-gah*’ was also situated near this *Hauz*. Shaikh Qutb-u’d-din Bakhtiyar Kaki is reported to have remarked: “Remember! Two places—the *Hauz-i-Shamsi* and the area

1. *The Rehla*, p. 36.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 155.

3. Amir Khusrau refers to the country-wide popularity of Sayyid Salar Mas‘ud’s grave in the following words:

در قصبة بهرائچ از مزار معطر سپهسالار شهید همه هندوستان بوئے عود گرفته است

I'jaz-i-Khusravi, Vol. II, p. 155.

The institution of taking out spears, known as spears of Balay Miyan, probably originated during the 13th century. It was stopped by Sikandar Lodi (*Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi* f. 15; *Tarikh-i-Da'udi*, p. 38).

4. Three days of ‘*Eid-i-Azha*’.

5. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p. 49 For some later documents about grants made for the maintenance of the tomb of Maulana Majd Haji, see *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1960, pp. 59-63.

6. See *Khair-u'l-Majalis* (p. 46) where this place has been referred to as *maqam-i-Khwaja Khizr*. There was a *maqam-i-Khizr* in Deogir also (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 220).

7. *Miftah-u't-Talibin*, (MS).

8. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 174.



General view of the Qutb area

on the back of the *Namazgah-i-Kuhna* are unique in the capital town of Delhi on account of the sacredness associated with them.”¹ But the *Hauz-i-Shamsi* was not merely a centre for the religious activities alone. It represented many facets of the Muslim culture of those days². Here one could find mystics lost in their contemplation; scholars busy in their debates and discussions; poets busy in reciting their latest compositions, as also the pimps and prostitutes plying their abominable trade.

1. *Miftah-u't-Talibin* (MS)

2. In the fourteenth century Ibn Battuta wrote about this tank: “Outside Delhi is a big reservoir called after Sultan Shams-u'd-din Lalmish. The inhabitants of Delhi take their supply of drinking water from it, and it lies near the 'Id-gah, (*musalla*) of Delhi. It is fed by rain water and is about two miles long and a mile broad. On its western side facing the 'Idgah are built platforms of stone, one higher than another. Under each platform are stairs which help one to get down to the water. Besides each platform is a dome of stone containing seats for amusement and pleasure seekers. In the middle of the tank there is a big dome of two storeys built of sculptured stone.....Inside the dome is a mosque where one finds fakirs most of the time. These fakirs have renounced the world relying upon God.” *The Rehla*, p. 28.

CHAPTER IX

HINDUS UNDER THE SULTANATE

Non-Muslims in a Muslim State—Theoretical Aspect

When Muslim political influence spread to areas inhabited by people professing different faiths, the problem of determining the position of the non-believers in the Muslim political set-up assumed great significance. An Islamic State stood for the realization of certain ideals. The Muslims could be forced to live according to the laws of the *shari'at* and help in realizing those ideals, but no such pressure could be exercised on those who did not believe in Islam. What place was then to be assigned to them in Islamic polity?

The Muslim jurists classified the non-believers under the following three categories:

- (a) those who possessed some revealed book (*ahl-i-Kitab*),
- (b) those who *resembled* the possessors of revealed books (*mushabah ahl-i-Kitab*), and
- (c) all other *kafirs* and *mushriks*.

The jurists agreed that all non-believers falling under the first two categories were entitled to equality in status and opportunities with the Mussalmans provided they consented to pay *jiziyah*¹. With regard to the position of the *kafirs* of the third category, there was no unanimity of opinion amongst the jurists. Imam Shafa'i restricted the application of the *zimmi* law to the *ahl-i-Kitab* and the Zoroastrians alone. Imam Abu Hanifah and Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal extended its application to all except the infidels of Arabia. For them, either sword or Islam. Imam Malik and Qazi Abu Yusuf adopted the most liberal attitude and accorded the status of *zimmi*s to all non-Muslims, whether Arab or non-Arab, without any exception.

1. *Jami'al-Shawahid fi Dukhul-i-Ghair Muslim fil Masajid*, Abdul Kalam Azad, pp. 33-34.

About the *ahl-i-Kitab* the *Quran* says:

(9: 29) حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون

(“Util they pay the tax in acknowledgement of superiority and they are in a state of subjection.” (Tr. by Muhammad 'Ali, p. 403).

About Zoroastrians who are included in the category of “Those resembling the possessors of revealed books” there is a *hadis* in *Sahih al-Bukhari* سلوا بهم سنة أهل الكتاب cited in *Jami'al-Shawahid fi Dukhul-i-Ghair Muslim fil Masajid*, p. 34.

The consensus of juristic opinion was, therefore, in favour of extending the privileges of a *zimmi* to all non-believers. Once the status of a *zimmi* was accorded to a non-Muslim, the security of his life, property and religion was guaranteed.

For the first time the *jiziyah* was levied by the Prophet on the Christians of Najran in *circa* 8 A.H. and the privileges of the *zimmi* were thus explained in a message:

“To (the Christians of) Najran and the neighbouring territories, the security of God and the pledge of His prophet are extended for their lives, their religion and their property—to the present as well as the absent and others besides; there shall be no interference (with practice of) their faith or other observances; nor any change in their rights or privileges; no bishop shall be removed from his bishopric; nor any monk from his monastery, nor any priest from his priesthood, and they shall continue to enjoy everything great and small as heretofore; no image or Cross shall be destroyed; they shall not oppress or be oppressed.”¹

The Pious Caliphs—who continued the theo-centric political organization of the Prophet—followed in the footsteps of their master. In almost all the settlements which the second Caliph ‘Umar made with the non-Muslims, one repeatedly comes across the words:

لا يغيرون عن ملة و لا يحال بينهم و بين شرايعهم²

(Their religion would not be changed; nor any interference would be made in their religious affairs.)

The Caliph ‘Ali is reported to have remarked that the blood of the *zimmis* was as sacred as that of the Mussalmans³.

Once the non-believers accepted to pay the *jiziyah*, it became the duty of a Muslim state to protect their religion and places of worship. A Muslim general during the reign of Mu‘tasim (833-842 A.D.) ordered a few religious men to be flogged because they had destroyed a fire temple in Sughd and had built a mosque in its place⁴. “It is not permissible to injure a temple of long

1. This message has been quoted in *Futuh-u'l-Buldan* and the *Kitab-u'l-Kharaj*. See also, *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 273; *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. I, pp. 188-189.

2. *Tabari*, p. 2633 as cited in *Al-Faruq*, Vol. II, p. 155.

3. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. I, p. 191.

4. *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 209.

standing¹," was the *fatwa* (judgment) of a *qazi* in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. It was due to this attitude of the Mussalmans that a number of fire temples existed in 'Iraq, Fars, Kirman, Sijistan, Khurasan, Jibal and Azerbaijan in the 10th century². So much so that there was a temple in the vicinity of Baghdad³.

But the regulations of Islam with regard to the non-Muslims have been grossly misunderstood. This misunderstanding has arisen out of the fact that the directions of the *Quran* with reference to the *non-Muslims-at-war* (*Kafirani-harbi*)⁴ have been taken to apply to all non-believers.

Jiziyah—its Historical, Legal and Actual Position

Jiziyah is an Arabicised form of the Persian word *Gezit*⁵, which means a tax. It was known as a kind of tax long before the advent of the Prophet of Islam. Nausherwan had formulated rules about it. According to Imam Abu Ja'far Tabari, Nausherwan fixed this tax at the rate of 12, 8, 6, and 4 *dirhams* per capita but exempted all (a) high born people, (b) nobles, (c) military men, (d) religious leaders, (e) scholars, (f) courtiers and (g) persons under 20 years of age from the payment of this tax⁶. It was realised by him in lieu of exemption from military service. When the Prophet of Islam imposed this tax, after giving it the Arabic form of *jiziyah*, he followed a tradition established long before him. The second Caliph 'Umar, it is said, followed in this reference the rules laid down by Nausherwan. Apart from this, the fact should not be ignored that such taxes were not unknown to other countries in the middle ages. The nature of *Turushkidanda* in India, *Host Tax* in France, *Common Penny* in Germany, and *Scutage* in England, despite all the differences, was almost identical.

According to the system established by the Mussalmans, every Muslim could be forced to perform military service. No such compulsion was considered desirable or justifiable with reference to the non-Muslims. Besides, most of the wars waged by the Muslims during the early period were basically ideological conflicts and people who did not believe in that ideology

1. *Tarikh-i-Da'udi*, pp. 29-30;
Tarikh-i-Shahi, Ahmad Yadgar, pp. 30-31.
2. *Mas'udi*, Vol. IV, p. 86, as cited in *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 209.
3. *Kitab-u'l-Milal wan Nihal*, Shahrastani, edited by Cureton, Part I, p. 198.
4. Unbeliever inhabitants of the *Dar-u'l-Harb* (enemy country). *Jihad* against the *Kafirs* of the *Dar-u'l-Harb* is an obligation (*Farz ala 'l-kifayah*). For *Dar-u'l-Harb*, see the *Ency. of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 917-918.
5. *Mafatih-u'l-'Ulum*, p. 59, as cited in *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. I, p. 222.
6. *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, Tabari, Vol. II, p. 662, cited in *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. I, pp. 223-224.

could not be expected to fight for it. But apart from taking part in such wars, the Muslim soldiers protected the life and property of all people—Muslims and non-Muslims—living under a Muslim government. It was in view of this later obligation that *jiziyah* was demanded from the non-believers. If at any time the Muslim government failed to protect the life or property of the non-Muslims living under it, the *jiziyah* was returned to the payers¹; if, on the other hand, the non-Muslims undertook to perform military service, they were exempted from the payment of this tax². Keeping in view the purpose of this tax, it was laid down that it would be spent on the maintenance of army and the protection of frontiers. If any amount was left over, it was utilized in constructing public works, like roads and bridges. The rate of *jiziyah* was fixed at 20, 6, 3, *dirhams* per head per year. Persons of less than 20 and more than 50 years of age were exempted from it; women, invalids, lunatics, mendicants and people possessing less than 200 *dirhams* were also exempted. The obligation to protect a *zimmi's* life or property did not cease even if he (a) subsequently refused to pay the *jiziyah*, (b) killed a Muslim, (c) committed adultery with a Muslim woman or (d) used abusive language for the Prophet of Islam. The contract came to an end only when a *zimmi* entered into any alliance or conspiracy with the non-Muslims living in *Dar-u'l-Harb*. Obviously it meant that so long as a *zimmi* did not do anything calculated to harm the safety or integrity of a Muslim state, there could be no justification for any state-action against him.

The connotation of *jiziyah* changed with the passage of time and, under the influence of jurists (*fuqaha*), it assumed a meaning which the Prophet and his immediate descendants had not visualized³. Its pre-Islamic background was forgotten while its discriminatory character was unduly emphasized. The law-books developed theories and principles quite unrelated to the original intention of the Prophet. These later-developed principles changed *jiziyah* into a tax with which an element of humiliation also came to be associated. But the fact remained that these theories were propounded when in actual practice *jiziyah* had almost ceased to be a poll tax in its original sense.

1. e.g. Abu 'Ubaida Amin returned the entire amount received as *jiziyah* from the Syrians because the Muslims found themselves helpless to protect them. *Kitab-u'l-Kharaj*, Abu Yusuf, p. 81; *Futuh-u'l-Buldan*, p. 137 etc. as cited in *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. I, pp. 228-229.

2. e.g. Caliph 'Usman exempted the Christians of Jarajma from payment of *jiziyah* on that account. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. I, p. 229.

3. *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. I, p. 205.

Imam Nuri openly declared that degradation and humiliation is wrong and is the invention of the *faqih*s of Khurasan. *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, pp. 340-341.

Considered in the broad context of Islamic history, *jiziyah* has a long and chequered history¹ which should be kept in mind in order to understand its nature and scope correctly. During the time of the Prophet and his first two successors, the *jiziyah* was realized *per capita*. A very significant change took place in its nature when the third Caliph, 'Usman, realized it *per house* from the residents of Tiflis². Further and more vital changes took place during the Umayyad period when the whole problem was considered from the purely monetary point of view.

Since conversion to Islam meant loss of *jiziyah* on the one hand and additional expenditure, in the form of pensions etc., on the other, the Umayyads discouraged conversions. If any one got converted in spite of this discouragement, the Umayyad government declined to exempt him from the payment of *jiziyah* and refused to enlist him as state-pensioner. Hajjaj forced most of the *Mawali* in the great cities of 'Iraq to pay all those taxes which they had been paying before their conversion to Islam. 'Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz did not approve of this policy of his predecessors. He sought to reverse it completely. When one of his officials pointed out that the revised policy of the Umayyad government would adversely affect its financial stability, 'Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz replied: "God be witness! I shall be glad to see everybody become Mussalman so that thou and I have to till the soil with our own hands to earn a living." When the Governor of Egypt complained against the fall in revenues due to increase in the number of conversions, 'Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz wrote back to him: "God sent His Prophet as a missionary and not as a tax-gatherer." The Umayyad bureaucracy in Khurasan had placed harassing conditions for those who wanted to be converted to Islam. One of the conditions being to circumcise the converts. 'Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz forbade it, saying: "Muhammad was sent to call men to the faith not to circumcise them." However, 'Umar b. 'Abdul Aziz's regulations in this respect did not survive him, and the Umayyad government returned to its old practices as soon as he closed his eyes in death.

A further change in the character of the *jiziyah* took place when *quotas* were fixed for the various villages. This virtually amounted to change in

1. "In all the Muslim authorities we have the most explicit statements that the Arabs did one thing in Egypt, another in Syria, another in Iraq, and another in Khurasan. The general story of the two-dinar *jiziyah* in Egypt is told about no other province. In the Sawad, it is usually asserted that 'Umar measured the land, put on it the tax of *kharaj*, and on the people, the *jiziyah*. In Khurasan and Transoxania, the testimony is general that different cities capitulated for a fixed tribute. There was no system of *kharaj* or *jiziyah*. It is impossible to name a single Muslim jurist or historian who unmistakably asserts that there was uniformity of practice throughout the Arab Empire."

Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam, p. 11.

2. *Futuh-u'l-Buldan*, p. 301, cited by Shibli in *Al-Mamun*, p. 110.

the levy of *jiziyah* from *per house* to *per village*. Thus, if a village with 100 non-Muslims was paying 200 *dinars* as *jiziyah* at a particular time, the same amount was demanded from it even when the number of taxable heads had been reduced by conversion, migration or death.

Passing through all these stages, the *jiziyah* ultimately assumed a character similar to *kharaj* and, when the distinctive character of *kharaj* as a tax realized exclusively from the non-Muslims changed, the religious connotation of *jiziyah* also disappeared. This is why we find the term *jiziyah* being used in large number of medieval works¹, both Indian and non-Indian, as a synonym for *kharaj* or land tax. When the Muslim law books of the middle ages talk about *jiziyah* and lay down elaborate rules about it, emphasizing its humiliating character, they refer to an institution which existed nowhere except in the minds of the orthodox jurists.

Jiziyah in India

It is clear from the *Chach Namah* that Muhammad b. Qasim had levied *jiziyah* in Sind². But what was the position under the Sultans of Delhi during the 13th century? We have practically no information about the actual state of affairs but the theoretical position has been stated by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir³. His views about the nature of *jiziyah*, the position of *zimmis*, and the *kharaji* and 'Ushri lands may be thus summarised:

1. If the Muslims besiege any fort or city in a *dar-u'l-harb*, their first duty is to offer Islam to the non-Muslims. If they accept it, hostilities should cease and siege should be given up forthwith. If they refuse to accept Islam, *jiziyah* should be demanded from them. If they consent to pay it, all conflicts should cease "*for their blood and property is like the blood and the property of the Mussalmans*", and it is not proper to carry on conflict with them. If, on the contrary, they refuse to accept Islam and also refuse to pay *jiziyah*, conflict should be continued.⁴
2. If truce is affected, it should be respected. If they visit the army of the Mussalmans, they should not be enslaved for they are like free people.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Barani, p. 574; *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, Vol. II, p. 89 Barthold (*Turkestan*, p. 188 f.n. 2) quotes *Mafatah-u'l-'Ulum* which identifies *kharaj* with *jiziyah*. 'Abdul Hamid Muharrir Ghaznavi has discussed *jiziyah* under the category of *Kharaj-i-Muqasima* (*Dastur-u'l-Albab fi 'Ilm-u'l-Hisab*, Photostat of Ms in Rampur Library, f. 35a.) . See also *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam*, p. 12.

2. *Chach Namah*, pp. 208-209.

3. *Adab-u'l-Harb wa-Shuja'at*, ff. 155 b-158b.

4. *Adab-u'l-Harb*, f. 155b.

3. If any *kafir* man or woman is given shelter by any person, it is not proper for any Muslim to kill him, provided no treachery or mischief, is suspected from him¹.
4. If any one from the *ahl-i-kharaj* embraces Islam, the same *kharaj* should be realized from him which he used to pay before his conversion. If a Mussalman purchases a land from any *zimmi*, he is expected to pay the same *kharaj*, which its former owner used to pay. 'Ushr cannot be realized from a *kharaji* land for the Prophet of Islam has said: "*Ushr and Kharaj cannot combine at one place.*"²
5. All matters concerning *jiziyah* may be decided in any one of the following ways: either some men from both sides should work out a settlement and on that basis the non-Muslims should consent to pay *jiziyah*, or the conquerors should impose it on the people. The rate of *jiziyah* should be 48 silver coins from the rich, 28 from the average and 12 from the poor. More than this should not be charged. The *jiziyah* may be taken from the *ahl-i-'Ajam*, (non-Arabs), the Jews, the Christian, the Sabians, and the idol-worshippers. It should not be realized from the idol-worshippers of Arabia, heretics, children, minors, invalids, blind men, the *dervishes* who do not earn and the monks³.
6. The *zimmis* should not be allowed to ride on horses in the Islamic cities (*Shahrha-i-Islam*). Their bridles, clothes and posture of sitting should be different from that of the Mussalmans⁴.

But this is merely an exposition of the theoretical position and, that too, a mere rehash of the statements of *Hedayah*. For an assessment of the actual position, one has to bear in mind the following facts:

- (a) There is no direct or explicit reference to the imposition of *jiziyah* by the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi in the contemporary records.
- (b) The term *jiziyah* is used in contemporary works mostly as a synonym for land tax (*kharaj*)⁵.
- (c) The Hindus had taken part in military expeditions during the period under review and, therefore, there was no justification for the imposition of *jiziyah* upon them.

1. *Adab-u'l-Harb*, f. 156b.

2. *Adab-u'l-Harb*, f. 157b.

3. *Adab-u'l-Harb*, f. 157b.

4. *Adab-u'l-Harb*, f. 158a.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 136; *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, p. 35; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* p. 574.

- (d) In a country like India, there were practical difficulties in realizing *jiziyah* from individuals. An elaborate administrative machinery was required for this purpose. We are not aware of the existence of any such machinery.
- (e) Firoz Shah Tughluq says in his *Futuhāt*: "I made an announcement that whoever from amongst the *kafirs* recites the *kalimah* and embraces Islam, the *jiziyah* should not be realized from him".¹ Does it mean that *jiziyah* continued to be realized from the people even after their conversion to Islam, or does it mean that after conversion, the outstanding amount of *jiziyah* was not permitted to be realized? Or does it mean that as a concession the land tax (of that year) was remitted?

The information available in contemporary records is tantalizing in its meagreness and it is difficult, therefore, to arrive at any definite conclusions about the nature and imposition of *jiziyah* during the thirteenth century. In all probability it was not realized as a distinct tax payable by individual non-Muslims but was merged in the *kharaj* and was treated as part of the total incidence of taxation.

Legal Status of the Hindus

When Muhammad b. Qasim decided to realize the *jiziyah* from the Hindus, he placed them under the category of *mushabah-ahl-i-kitab*. This position of the Hindus was accepted by all the Sultans of Delhi. Once or twice during this period, some religious fanatics demanded a change in the legal status of the Hindus, but their approach was neither approved by the rulers nor did it receive the support of the Muslim public. Such demands remained 'whines of impotent fanaticism' and were never seriously considered. Barani informs us that one day some of the leading scholars of the age went to see Iltutmish and requested him to confront the Hindus with the alternative of 'death or Islam', which meant that they were not in favour of according the status of *zimmi*s to the Hindus and bracketted them with the *kafirs* of Arabia with whom no such arrangement was permitted.

Iltutmish asked Nizam-u'l-Mulk Junaidi to give a reply to the 'ulama. Referring to the impracticability of the demand, the Wazir said: "But at the moment India has newly been conquered and the Muslims are so few that they are like salt (in a large dish). If the above orders are to be applied to the Hindus, it is possible they might combine and a general confusion might ensue and the Muslims would be too few in number to suppress this general

1. *Futuhāt-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 20.

confusion. However, after a few years when in the Capital and in the regions and the small towns, the Muslims are well established and the troops are larger, it will be possible to give Hindus, the choice of 'death' or 'Islam'.¹

No other historian has referred to this representation of the contemporary '*ulama*'; even later writers who have mainly copied from Zia-u'd-din Barani's works have ignored this incident completely. May be that they doubted the authenticity of this information or the incident was too revolting to their tolerant and realistic feelings to be recorded. That Iltutmish could not act upon the advice of the '*ulama*' is too palpable to need a comment. Political realism, common sense and the true spirit of religion pointed in the other direction.

MUSLIM ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE HINDUS

For a proper study of the position of the Hindus under the Sultanate, the attitude of the different sections of Muslim society towards the Hindus and their religious institutions needs careful investigation in the light of available records.

I. The Governing class

Most of the Turks who had established the Sultanate of Delhi were, no doubt, neophytes but they were singularly free from all religious bigotry or fanaticism. If there was any element of exclusive thinking in them, its source was racial, not religious. They treated the Indian Muslims and the Hindus with equal non-chalance. They were concerned more with the maintenance of their political power and prestige than with the religious problems or prejudices of their people. We do not come across in the contemporary records a single instance of any order of the Turkish Sultans purporting to interfere in the Hindu religious practices or seeking to undermine the religious or social position of the Hindus. On the other hand, we know for definite that they never hesitated in continuing Hindu traditions if political circumstances so demanded. Shihab-u'd-din continued the figures of the goddess Lakshmi on his gold coins, a fact which "indicates the extent to which the conquerors were prepared to compromise their religious ideas with demands of the State²." Qutb-u'd-din Aibek allowed the Rajput princes to rule over Delhi, Ajmer and Gwalior even after the conquest of those regions.³

The Turkish nobles did not hesitate in entering into alliances with the Hindu chieftains. Minhaj writes about the rebel-Malik,

1. *Sana-i-Muhammadi*, (Rampur MS), see also *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, part III, pp 100-105.

2. *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 300.

3. *Taj-u'l-Ma'asir* (Ms), pp. 110, 184.

Qutlugh Khan:

"When he sought safety and protection in the Santur mountains, Ranah Ran-pal (Rana-pala), the Hindu, who held the chieftainship among the Hindus—and it was the usage among that people to protect those who sought shelter with them—assisted Malik Kutlugh Khan¹."

Balban sought the co-operation of Danuj Rai, the ruler of Sonargaon against Tughral².

II. 'Ulama

For the attitude of the '*ulama* towards the Hindus we have no other source of information except Zia-u'd-din Barani. But he was so deeply prejudiced against Hindus that it is difficult to vouch for the truth of his statements. Probably his personal interests had suffered at the hands of some Hindu landlords and this had embittered his attitude towards the Hindus in general.

In order to rationalize his attitude towards the Hindus, Barani selected a king (Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin), a saint (Sayyid Nur-u'd-din Mubarak) and a theologian (Qazi Mughis-u'd-din) to weave his religious ideas round them and used them as his mouthpiece. Like Browning he could very well say:

*"...you saw me gather men and women
Enter each and all, and use their service,
Speak from every mouth--The Speech of power."*

While speaking this 'speech of power', Barani has so blurred our historical perspective that it has become impossible for us to separate his own fads and fancies from historical facts and realities. It is safer, therefore, not to accept Barani as a spokesman of the viewpoint of the entire class of '*ulama*.

As a matter of fact, the attitude of the '*ulama* was determined by what they found stated in books on *fiqh*, written outside India and without any specific reference to Indian conditions. No Indo-Muslim scholar of the thirteenth century sought to study the problem of the Indian Mussalmans and their relation with the Hindus in the light of the conditions operating in this country. Either such a study of the problem was considered unnecessary or the Muslim law was too static to take any note of the changed circumstances. Even the *Adab-u'l-Harb-wa-Shuja'at* which contains some stray references to the status and position of the *zimmis* in a Muslim state does not make any reference to the Hindus. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir talks about Sabians,

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 306; Raverty, p. 839.

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 87.

Christians, Jews etc. but makes absolutely no mention of the vast majority of the Hindu population in whose midst he had compiled his book. The *Fawa'id-i-Firoz Shahi*, a much later work, refers to a *Risalah* which was compiled by a great mystic and scholar, Shaikh Shams-u'd-din Yahya, about the dress of the *zimmis*¹. This *Risalah* has not survived and it is difficult to say what attitude was taken up by the great scholar on that matter.

Of the four main schools of Muslim Law, the Hanafite school was the most liberal in its attitude towards the non-Muslims, while the Shafa'ites represented the other extreme. Probably Barani was more inclined towards the Shafa'ite creed as it vindicated his own prejudices. The fact that of all the medieval Sultans he singled out Mahmud of Ghaznin to weave his political ideology round him, was probably due to the latter's Shafa'ite leanings². But the majority of 'ulama in India were Hanafites³ and their attitude towards the Hindus was determined by the liberal approach of the Hanafite school towards other cults and creeds.

III. Mystics

The mystic attitude towards the Hindus and Hinduism was one of sympathetic understanding and adjustment⁴. They looked upon all religions as different roads leading to the same destination. They did not approve of any discrimination or distinction in human society which was one organism for them. They had free social intercourse with the Hindus and tried to understand their approach towards the basic problems of religion and morality⁵. It was their firm conviction that spiritual greatness could be attained by Hindus in the same way as it could be achieved by the Muslims⁶. Believers in non-violence as they were, they disliked injuring any living being, man or animal⁷. Their vegetarianism, whether due to spiritual or social considerations—was bound to increase the area of contact with the Hindus. The following observations made in *Anis-u'l-Arwah* were, it appears, due to a respect for Hindu sentiments:

Whoever slaughters forty cows would be deemed (on the Day of Judgement) to have killed a man; and whoever slaughters hundred goats would be likewise

1. *Fawa'id-i-Firoz Shahi*, f. 116a.

2. *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah*, p. 159.

3. So far as our records go, we are aware of only two non-Hanafite *qazis* during the Sultanate period: Maulana Farid-u'd-din Shafa'i in Awadh (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 275) and Ibn Battuta Maliki at Delhi.

4. See *supra*, pp. 262-263.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 84-85; 238, 245.

6. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 70.

7. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, (MS), pp. 10, 43, 52.

held guilty of massacring a man. One who slaughters an animal out of sheer pleasure is considered to have helped in the demolition of Ka'ba..... and no animal should be thrown in fire. It is as great a sin as if one committed incest with his mother.¹

IV. Traders and Artisans

Relations between the Hindu and the Muslim working classes were determined by trade morality and guild-spirit which transcended all other considerations of religion and caste. The following story recorded in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* gives some idea of the Muslim respect for the Hindu traders:

Some merchants of Lahore went to trade in Gujarat. Gujarat was then under a Hindu Raja. When the Hindus came to purchase their articles, the merchants of Lahore demanded double the real price of all the commodities. When they finally disposed off these articles, they accepted half the price they had originally demanded. This was not the practice of the Hindus of that locality. Whatever article they sold, they demanded correct and fixed price for it. When the Hindus found the Muslim traders behaving in this way, they asked them a question: 'Wherefrom do you come?' 'From Lahore', they replied. The Hindus further asked: 'Is this the way in which transactions are made in your city?' 'Yes,' they replied. Amazed and surprised, the Hindus remarked. 'Does that city continue to be prosperous?' 'yes', they said. 'How can a city, where bargains are made like this, prosper', remarked the Hindus.....While returning from Gujarat the Muslim traders heard that Lahore had been ravaged by the Kafirs (Mongols).²

The Multani traders were mostly Hindus. There were frequent dealings between them and the Muslims, including the Turkish nobles³. Indian traders were given perfect freedom to carry on their business in Ghaznin even when political relations between India and Ghaznin were strained⁴.

Religious Freedom to the Hindus

The hyperbolic and exaggerated narratives of Persian chronicles of the thirteenth century leave upon one's mind the impression of wholesale destruction of the Hindu houses of worship during the Turkish campaigns. For

1. *Anis-u'l-Arwah*, pp. 21-22.

2. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp. 116-117. Probably the reference is to the invasion of Tayir in 1241.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 120.

4. *Jawama'-u'l-Hikayat*, Vol. I, pp. 47-48.

instance, Hasan Nizami speaks about the destruction of all temples in Kalinjar, a statement which is contradicted by the fact that the temples of Mahoba and Khajarahho are still in tact.

The early Turkish Sultans of Delhi gave full religious liberty to their non-Muslim subjects. Even in the imperial city of Delhi they bowed before their idols, blowed their conches, bathed in the river Jumna and took out their religious processions without any let or hindrance by the state¹. In an old temple on the Bareilly-Mathura road there are records of 15 pilgrimages between the years 1241 and 1290².

Archaeological evidence shows that even the construction of new temples was not checked or stopped by the Turkish Sultans. Thakur Phero's work on medieval temple architecture³, *Vastusara*, written during the reign of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji, does not make any reference to state interference in the construction of temples. There is, on the contrary, definite evidence that temples were constructed during this period. Three images of the Jaina sect, discovered in Etah, contain dated records of their installation in the year v.s. 1335/1278 A.D.⁴. A fragment of a bilingual inscription, in Persian and Sanskrit, found in the Purana Qila of Delhi records the endowment of 12 *bighahs* of land to a temple dedicated to Sri Krishna⁵. Firoz Shah's protest that 'the Hindus and idol-worshippers had built new temples in the city and the environs⁶,' should be read in this background.

Conversions

Contemporary historical works supply very little information about the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam during the thirteenth century. Stray incidents of conversions recorded in political and non-political works can hardly be of any help in understanding the processes of conversion during the early period. Tradition attributes the conversion of a large number of Hindu tribes to Islam to the missionary activities of the Muslim mystics⁷, but the genuine mystic records are silent on this point⁸. This absence of

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 216-127.

2. *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Cunningham, Vol. I, p. 206.

3. See V.S. Agarwala's article: 'A note on Medieval Temple Architecture.' *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, July, 1943, pp. 112-117.

4. *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923, p. 92.

5. *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1909-10, p. 131.

6. *Futuh-at-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 10-11.

7. *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 274, et seq.

8. *Islamic Culture*, April 1946, p. 140. Prof. M. Habib's article: *Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh as a great historical personality*.

recorded evidence cannot, however, be interpreted to mean that there were no conversions. Obviously the increase in Indo-Muslim society was largely due to conversions. But it remains to be investigated how these conversions took place and what agencies worked for them. Did they take place at the individual or the tribal level? What sections of Indian society were the first to be converted? What were the attractions working for conversions? How far did these conversions represent a reaction against the caste taboos of Medieval Hinduism? These and similar questions cannot be answered with certainty due to want of requisite data. After weighing all the circumstantial evidence, Professor Habib has reached the conclusion "that the acceptance of Islam by the city-workers was a decision of local professional groups, and that in making their decisions they were naturally more concerned with mundane affairs and their position in the social order than with abstract theological truths¹." This is largely true though it underrates the role of the moral and spiritual forces released by the Muslim mystics.

Many tribes claim that their ancestors were converted to Islam by the Muslim mystics. It is difficult to controvert their claim on the basis of any negative argument. For instance, the following tribes of the Punjab claim to have been converted to Islam by Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar:

1. Sial.
2. Sarhangwalian.
3. Bahliyan.
4. Adhakan.
5. Jhakarwalian.
6. Bakkan.
7. Hakan.
8. Sian.
9. Khokaran.
10. Dhudhiyan.
11. Tobiyan².

The respect shown to the great Chishti saint of Ajodhan by generations of these tribes lends weight to their claim.

1. Introduction to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (Vol. II, Revised Edition), p. 59.

2. *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, Vol. II, p. p. 396-398; *The Jhang Settlement Report*, Steedman, p. 244; *The Punjab Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 207; *Punjab Castes*, Ibbetson, pp. 147-148. *Punjab Chiefs*, Lepel Griffin, p. 502 *et seq.*

Some tribes are reported to have been converted to Islam by Shihab-u'd-din and his Turkish slave-officers. Minhaj thus refers to the conversion of a tribal chief at the hands of Muhammad b. Bakhtiyar Khalji:

"In the different parts of those mountains which lie between Tibbat and the country of Lakhnawati are three races of people, one called the Kunch, the second Mej (Meg), and the third the Tiharu; and all have Turk countenances. They have a different idiom too, between the language of Hind and Turk. One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kunch and Mej, whom they were wont to call 'Ali, the Mej, fell into the hands of Mahammad-i-Bakhtiyar, the Khalji, and, at his hand also, the former adopted the Muhammadan faith."

Ferishtah's statement that the Khokars had embraced Islam at the hands of Shihab-u'd-din² lacks contemporary and even later confirmation. Amir Khusrau refers to the Khokars as a non-Muslim tribe³.

Employment of the Hindus by the State

The Turkish State in India could not possibly dispense with the services of the Hindus employed in the various branches of administration, particularly at the local levels. Any such action would have completely paralysed the administrative machinery and would have created chaotic conditions in the country. Even in the case of higher officials, the Turks proceeded very cautiously and replaced them in stages. They fully realized that the indigenous institutions could be run by the Indians alone. They alone could help the new government in the collection of revenues and could act as intermediaries between the State and the peasantry. This class was, therefore, left untouched by the Turkish government. "When Qutbuddin Aibek decided", writes Dr. Tara Chand, "to stay in Hindustan he had no other choice but to retain the Hindu staff which was familiar with the Hindu administration, for without it all government including the collection of revenue would have fallen into utter chaos. The Muslims did not bring with them from beyond the Indian frontiers artisans, accountants and clerks. Their buildings were erected by Hindus who adapted their ancient rules to newer conditions, their coins were struck by Hindu goldsmiths and their accounts were kept by Hindu officers. Brahman legists advised the king on

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 152; Raverty, p. 560.

2. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Vol. I, p. 59. *The Indian Antiquary* (1907, p. 1) and the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 98) have accepted Ferishtah's version. But Raverty has rightly questioned its authenticity, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 367. See also, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 327-328.

3. *Tughluq Namah*, p. 128.

the administration of Hindu law and Brahman astronomers helped in the performance of their general functions.”¹

Besides spheres in which the employment of Hindus was almost indispensable, they must have been employed in the new armies which the Sultans had to raise in order to meet the growing danger of the Mongol incursions.

Economic Condition of the Hindus

It would be wrong to think that the economic condition of all the sections of Hindu society remained unchanged after the Turkish occupation of the country. The Rajput feudal lords could not possibly continue to enjoy the privileges of a governing class when political power passed into the hands of the Turks. But the lower sections of the Rajput aristocracy did not suffer any loss of economic position. Their prosperous condition, about which Barani speaks during the Tughluq period², was not an abrupt situation created in the 14th century. It had its roots in the policy of the Ilbarites.

Besides, the substitution of forced labour by free labour had a tremendous effect on the economic condition of the Indian masses. The fact that the Hindu moneylenders were in a position to advance money to the Muslim aristocracy³ is too significant to be ignored.

Social Relations

When two culture-groups came face to face, they cannot long maintain an attitude of isolation, distrust or indifference. Social and economic forces bring them nearer and closer. During the period under review, both the Hindus and the Muslims stood in danger of being destroyed at the hands of the Mongols. This common danger further accelerated the pace of syncretic forces and created a sense of unity.

The earliest references to contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims that we find in the medieval records are about the *khanqahs* of the Muslim saints⁴. We hear about a Hindu being introduced to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya by a Muslim as “This Hindu is my brother⁵”. The use of large

1. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 137.

2. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, f. 120a-121b.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 120.

4. See *supra*, p. 264.

5. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 182.

number of Hindustani words, phrases, idioms and similies in the contemporary literature¹ shows the extent to which social contacts had developed.

Some of the names given to Muslim nobles, religious men and others, are definitely Indian, e.g. Malik Chajju², Malik Kachchan³, Faqih Mahdu⁴, Rashid Pandit⁵, Malik Haran Mar⁶.

When social contacts increased, Hindu tastes and customs were also adopted by the Muslims. Barani tells us about a noble of Balban who was very fond of chewing *pan*⁷ (bettle leaves), a purely Indian habit⁸. Indian music found its patrons at the royal courts⁹ and the *khanqahs*¹⁰. The Hindi poetry came to be appreciated by Muslim scholars and divines¹¹. Hindu mourning practices gained currency in Muslim society¹².

Matrimonial relationship could not have been avoided at the lower level. We have only two references about this at the higher level. Mangbarni is reported to have married a Khokar girl¹³ and Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti is said to have married the daughter of a Hindu Raja of Ajmir¹⁴. At the lower strata such instances must have been very frequent.

The Rural Population

The Indian villages have lived a self-sufficient life from times immemorial¹⁵. Political revolutions which took place in the urban areas could not

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 118, 148, 158, 209, 254; *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, pp. 32, 25, 36, 60, 70, 112, 185.

2. It is surprising that members of some renowned Turkish and Sayyid families had this name, e.g. the famous nephew of Balban (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 173) and a nephew of Amir Hasan 'Ala Sijzi (*Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 15). See also *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 111.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 126.

4. *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 174.

5. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, pp. 93, 155.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 177.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 117.

8. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 152.

9. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 157.

10. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 152; *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 174.

11. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 177-178.

Jawami'-u'l-Kilam, p. 173; *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p. 200.

12. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 109, 123.

13. *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, English Tr. Vol. II, p. 414. For an account of this marriage based on tradition, see *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, p. 3. For marriages in Khokar and other families by the descendants of Shaikh Farid-Ganj-i-Shakar, see *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, p. 323 *et seq.*

14. *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp. 112-113.

15. *Local Government in Ancient India*, Mookerji, pp. 146—178.

disturb the rural economy or the rural pattern of life. The Indian peasant carried on his vocation without bothering about any change in the composition of the governing class. Since there was no change in the class of intermediaries between the State and the peasant, the Hindu peasant had no occasion to know about the change. The new *iqta'durs* who had taken the place of the Rajput feudal lords could not possibly bring about any immediate change in the relationship between the State and the peasant. The stream of life in the rural areas flowed smoothly and uninterruptedly even after the establishment of Turkish rule. Balban realized the importance of the peasants in the general economy of the country and the State when he declared: "While he should not be allowed to develop into a rich potential rebel, ruinous exaction on him would cause a falling of in agriculture and the consequent impoverishment of the State."¹ But his regulations did not touch even the fringes of rural life.

The Turks and the Muslim refugees who came to India were urban-minded and had little interest in agriculture as a vocation. There were consequently no attempts to settle in the rural areas. But people who did not want to live in the choking atmosphere of urban society settled in rural areas. A son of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din took to farming in Mandal; Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din cultivated a *bigah* of land in a village near Nagaur. These Muslim cultivators adjusted themselves to the rural milieu and fitted themselves in the frame-work of the rural economy. In dress, diet and living they adopted the ways of the Indian peasants.

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 100.

CHAPTER X

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

“The intimate contact between India and the outer Asiatic world,” remarks Sir Jadunath Sarkar, “which had been established in the early Budhistic age, was lost when the new Hindu society was reorganized and set in rigidity like a concrete structure about the 8th century A.D., with the result that India again became self-centred and isolated from the moving world beyond her natural barriers. This touch with the rest of Asia and the nearest parts of Africa was restored by the Muslim conquest at the end of the 12th century.”¹

One of the factors responsible for this isolationistic attitude of the Hindus was their sense of superiority. “According to their belief,” writes Alberuni, “there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignorant and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, *for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is.*”² This attitude was not confined to the cultural or the intellectual spheres alone. It had exercised its unhealthy influence in almost every other sphere of external relations. If the laws of Manu may be an index to the mind of the Hindu ruling classes, their attitude towards foreign powers was one of contemptuous indifference, suspicion and even hostility³. “Let (the king) consider as hostile his immediate neighbour”, was Manu’s advice to his contemporary rulers.

The Turkish Sultans of Delhi did not believe in isolated political or cultural existence. They appreciated fully the necessity of establishing diplomatic relations with foreign powers⁴. The *Adab-u’l-Harb* of Fakhri-Mudabbir very neatly epitomises the ideals and ambitions of the Turkish

1. *India Through the Ages*, p. 43.

2. *Alberuni’s India*, p. 23.

3. *Laws of Manu* (Sacred Books of the East Series), Vol. XXV, pp. 241-249.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 30-31. Barani informs us about the visit of ambassadors from distant lands (رسولین دور دست) to the court of Balban.

oligarchy in India and lays down the following rules regarding the qualifications of ambassadors and their functions and duties in foreign courts:

When an envoy is dispatched from one sovereign to another, he should be of noble lineage, or he should come of a scholarly and pious family, or he should be high-born such that his ancestors must have earned fame and good reputation, or he should come of some pure Sayyid stock such that right from his childhood he must have been brought up before the king and must have become cultured and discriminating, having learnt court conventions, and gained celebrity in the service of the king.....He should be formidable, handsome, eloquent, glib-tongued, pert, of tall stature and graceful so that he may command respect in the eyes of the people. An envoy should not be of slight appearance and of short stature, nor should he be ugly and repulsive to sight, cripple, idle-talker, disposed to laugh immoderately, refractory, rash, niggardly, parsimonious and ill-tempered, nor should he belong to such a family that any of his ancestors had been notorious for grossly immoral habit or depravity. He should be eloquent, cultured, modest, sedate, lavish, charitable, magnanimous, spendthrift, extravagant to a degree that nothing is too much in his eyes; and a number of learned divines, scholars and high-born persons should accompany him and if need be, he should be in a position to perform a task himself and make others perform it. Plenty of wealth should be sent with him so that he may not lag behind from doing any good. Again, if he spends that wealth for furthering a cause and the task is not completed or he does not rectify a mistake (for the affairs of kingdom and the king are just like river water which flows in and flows out in immeasurable quantity, i.e. the affairs of state are numerous and varied), he (who has dispatched the envoy, i.e. the king) should not be slack and should send him a band of swift and ingenious messengers and experienced, nimble and intrepid horse riders and dromedaries well-acquainted with the way so that if an emergency arises, they should be able to march day and night and even in odd hours to meet that emergency. Again, the envoy should be such that when he is dispatched to the court of a king, he may be ready-witted. So long as he is not asked about anything he should not initiate it of his own accord. If he is asked about anything he should reply in a decent and befitting manner and should not cut a sorry figure. He should be calm and composed and should not laugh immoderately. If any branch of knowledge is being discussed in that court he should explain it in a proper manner and in agreeable language if he knows it; if he does not know it he should remain silent and should not begin it and should show that he knows that branch of knowledge but he should not go to the extent that he be subjected to test and may not be able to acquit himself well as a result of which he may be regarded as jester and of mean profession.....

The envoy should be such that when he commences a discourse meekly he must close it in a harsh manner, and should close it meekly if he has begun it harshly. He should be "a tearer" and at the same time a "sewer"; a "maker" and a "burner" simultaneously. He should speak with vital force and in a vigorous manner and should not speak humbly and meekly. When he is asked about the king, the territory, the retainers and the subjects he should speak in such a way as to place them in a superior position to all others. He should never behave arrogantly.....his mouth is the mouth of his master. He should talk to the grandees and functionaries of that country politely and softly and in an agreeable

manner so that all of them may be on friendly terms with him. If necessity demands friendship with some one, he should send him rare gifts because much love and goodwill is acquired thereby and many secrets are thus known.....The presents which are sent through the envoy should be excellent even if he (that is, the king whom those presents are sent) does not deserve them by virtue of his rank, so that the sender's degree of generosity, amicability and magnanimity may be estimated, and the assertion of his magnificence should be the primary gain which may be achieved by sending those presents which are rarely found in his (that is, the receiver's) country.¹

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir then gives a list of articles which should be sent as presents to foreign courts:

1. The Quran.
2. Commentaries on the Quran written in good hand.
3. Cultured slaves.
4. Turkish, Rumi, Abyssinian and Indian slave-girls.
5. Gold and silver embroidered cloth.
6. Horses and camels.
7. Mules.
8. Saddles and Bridles.
9. Swords.
10. Kataras (small swords).
11. Shields.
12. Double-pointed spears.
13. Arrows and bows.
14. Different types of the coats of mail and armlets.
15. Helmets.
16. Vests worn under coats of mail.
17. Horse armour.
18. Shank covers.
19. Veils.
20. Knives, with handles made of *khatu* (bones of a Chinese bird) and *kark* (branch of a tree).
21. Sandal wood.
22. Aloe wood.
23. Ebony.
24. Tusks of the elephants.
25. Ruby.
26. Turquoise.

1. *Adab-u'l-Harb-wa-Shuja'at*, ff. 57a-59a.

For early Islamic traditions, see *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (April, 1941), p. 201 *et. seq.*; for Hindu traditions, see *The Laws of Manu*, pp. 225-227.

27. Agate.
28. Jasper.
29. Arabian Shells.
30. Linen and woollen clothes.
31. Mats and prayer carpets.
32. Velvet.
33. Raw silk.
34. Falcons.
35. Turkish elephants.
36. Stockings.
37. Breeches.
38. Musk.
39. Camphor.
40. Ambergis.
41. Leather table cloths.
42. Cushions.
43. Beavers.
44. Ermines.
45. Fox fur.
46. Lions, tigers and leopards, dogs etc.
47. China vessels.
48. Moroco leather etc.¹

Lastly Fakhr-i-Mudabbir deals with treaties and agreements and draws attention to the following essentials in this context:

- (a) All agreements should be made in writing.
- (b) Both parties should vow to act upon the agreement. These vows should refer to God, His Prophet, angels, Revealed Books, Prophets, divorce, manumission of slaves, Haj etc.
- (c) All *qazis*, Sayyids, saints, celebrities, nobles, officers and military leaders should put their signatures on this agreement.
- (d) The agreement should be read out before both the parties.

The way in which Fakhr-i-Mudabbir has gone into every minute detail about external contacts shows that considerable importance was attached to it in his days.

1. *Adab-u'l-Harb-wa-Shuja'at*, ff. 59a, 59b.

Relations with the Mongols

One of the most baffling problems of international politics which the Sultans had to tackle was the rise of the Mongols which “resembles rather some brute cataclysm of the blind forces of nature than a phenomenon of human history.”¹ Wherever they went a crimson streak marked their trail and cultural centres of medieval ‘Ajam were practically wiped out of existence. Minhaj read the signs of the Day of Resurrection in the irruption of the Mongols².

The independent Sultanate of Delhi had come into existence almost simultaneously with the rise of Chengiz Khan. The Sultans had hardly set up their administrative institutions that the Mongol danger began to loom large on the Indian horizon. They realised fully the magnitude of the problem as well as their own limitations in dealing with it. Vigilant without being provocative and realistic without being despondent, they handled a formidable political situation with great tact.

Broadly speaking, the policy of the early Turkish Empire of Delhi towards the Mongols had three distinct phases—*Aloofness*, *Appeasement* and *Resistance*. So long as Chengiz Khan was alive, Iltutmish strictly maintained an attitude of dignified aloofness and did not press his claims in Sindh and Multan where the Mongols had their interests. The Mongols also respected the non-aggression pact with Iltutmish³. The policy of the *quriltai* changed under the influence of Uguday and for more than two decades the Mongol pressure went on increasing on the Delhi frontier. When all efforts to check the rising tide of Mongol aggression proved Sisyphean, the Sultanate adopted the policy of appeasement. Throughout the reign of Hulagu, the Turkish oligarchy at Delhi followed this policy and with considerable success. When Hulagu died in 1265 and Balban ascended the throne in 1266, a more vigorous policy of resistance was initiated. The Mongol tide was successfully repulsed and the frontier region was so effectively guarded that, even under a weak ruler like Kaiqubad, the Mongol invaders were pursued as far as the Salt Range⁴.

When Chengiz Khan appeared on the Indian scene in 1221, vigorously pursuing the Khwarizmian prince, Jalal-u’d-din Mangbarni, Iltutmish found himself between the devil and the deep sea. He could neither help Chengiz

1. *Historiographie des Mongols*, D’ Ohsson, Vol. I, p. 387.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 330-331.

3. *Foundation of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi*, p. 194.

4. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 54.

nor could he protect Mangbarni. Chengiz was not the man to tolerate any hostile reaction to his movements, while Mangbarni was the scion of a ruling house which had bitterly strained relations with the Shansabanians. Besides, Mangbarni was a military leader *par excellence*¹ and, given the opportunity, could establish Khwarizmian hegemony in India. His stay in India was, therefore, as dangerous² to the Ilbarite interests as the presence of Chengiz. Iltutmish could neither choose the one nor the other as his ally. Besides, the cis-Indus region where Chengiz had mustered his forces, was inhabited by tribes and factions hostile to the Sultanate of Delhi and had all the potentialities of turning into a dangerous zone of opposition against the Sultanate. On one side the Khokars nursed inveterate hatred towards the Sultan of Delhi and, on the other, the ruler of Multan looked upon Iltutmish as his rival. The march of events showed that a triple alliance between Mangbarni, Qubacha and the Khokars could spring up any moment. A Khokar—Mangbarni alliance had actually come into being. It was in this complicated political situation that Iltutmish formulated his policy with reference to the Mongols.

It is said that both Mangbarni³ and Chengiz⁴ had sent their envoys to Delhi. We do not know how Iltutmish received the Mongol envoy, but the envoy of Mangbarni was put to death⁵. Probably Iltutmish utilised this opportunity for entering into a non-aggression pact with the Mongols according to which no enemy of the Mongols could be given asylum by the Sultan of Delhi and, in return, the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire was to be respected by the Mongols. It is difficult to say how far this arrangement could have worked if Chengiz would have decided to stay in India. Iltutmish got out of a very difficult situation when the Mongol leader decided

1. Even Chengiz could not help praising him. "Such a son must a father have", he remarked when Mangbarni plunged his horse into the Indus and swam across with his royal canopy in his hand.

2. Juwaini says that Iltutmish feared "lest the Sultan might gain an ascendancy over him and involve him in ruin." *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, (Tr.). Vol. II, p. 414

3. *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha*, (Eng. Tr.). Vol. II, p. 414

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 355.

5. *Tarikh-i-Jahan Gusha* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p. 414.

Juwaini says that Mangbarni had sent the following message to Iltutmish: "The vicissitudes of fortune have established my right to approach thy presence, and guests of my sort arrive but rarely. If, therefore, the drinking place of friendship be purified upon either side and the cups of fraternity filled to the brim, and we bind ourselves to aid and assist one another in weal and woe then shall all our aims and objects be attained; and when our opponents realize the concord that exists between us, the teeth of their resistance will be blunted" (Vol. II, p. 413). On one side Iltutmish got the messenger killed and on the other he sent a messenger "with offerings of food worthy of such a guest, but excused himself from providing a place of abode on the ground that nowhere in that region was there a suitable climate nor any locality such as would be fit for a king" (Vol. II, p. 414).

to abandon his Indian campaign¹ and marched back through the Hindu Kush.

Mangbarni who stayed on in India for a couple of years more had to face several Mongol attacks. His military commanders advised him to settle down in India and seek the help of Delhi against the Mongols. But he decided to leave in 1224 and left Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Pai as his representatives in Afghanistan and Sindh.

Iltutmish laid down, as in many other spheres, the basic principles on which the policy of the Sultanate was to be formulated with reference to the Mongols. It was clearly a policy of dignified aloofness from Central Asian politics and strict avoidance of provocation to the Mongols. For more than six years after the return of Chengiz, Iltutmish did not try to extend his power to cis-Indus region, so necessary for the consolidation of his power, because it was closely linked up with Central Asian politics and the Mongols were keenly interested in its developments. A year after Chengiz's death (1227), Qubacha's dominions were annexed by Iltutmish.

With Iltutmish's annexation of Multan and Uchch, the buffer-state between the Mongols and the Sultanate of Delhi disappeared. Iltutmish now stood in direct contact with the Mongols, without any shock-absorber in between. But internecine struggle between the sons of Chengiz gave him a respite and an opportunity to consolidate his internal position. We do not hear of any major Mongol attack on India during the later years of Iltutmish's reign. But in the same year in which Iltutmish breathed his last, the Mongol power had been established in Seistan.

The Mongol attempt to establish their strong-holds in India began after the death of Iltutmish. The *quriltai*, assembly of the Mongol princes, had no doubt decided as early as 1229 on a policy of reconquest and annexation of territories contiguous to the Delhi frontier but for many years there remained a lull on the Indian frontiers. Then the Mongol operations started in the upper Indus. In 1241 Ugudy despatched an army under the command of Tayir and occupied the city of Lahore². Chengiz's non-aggression pact thus came to end and the territorial integrity of the Sultanate suffered its first serious loss.

1. Chengiz was guided by superstition in abandoning his Indian campaign. "He was burning shoulder-bones (of sheep) continually and examining them, he used not to find permission augured that he should enter Hind." Raverty, pp. 1046-1047.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 392 *et seq.*

The establishment of Mongol power in Lahore made the position of Delhi extremely precarious. Open resistance was rejected as beyond the region of practical politics and a policy of appeasement was evolved. When Nuyin invaded Multan in 1246, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya was requested to intervene and it was through his intercession that the Mongols retired after realizing an indemnity of one lac *dinars*¹.

In 1258 Baghdad was sacked by the forces of Hulagu. Legally the Sultanate of Delhi was a part of the 'Abbasid Caliphate and, as such, it should have strongly reacted to the fall of Baghdad. But, barring rehabilitation of the refugees², the Sultanate did not take any notice of the cataclysm. Two years after the incident, emissaries from the Mongol court visited India and the Sultan of Delhi, eager to win the goodwill of a powerful neighbour, accorded a royal reception to them³.

This gesture did not go unreciprocated and Hulagu warned his soldiers: "If the hoof of your horse enters the dominion of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din, all the four legs of the horse shall be cut off"⁴.

When Balban ascended the throne he reversed the policy of the Sultanate towards the Mongols. He was in a better position than his predecessors to follow a vigorous defence policy. Hulagu was no more and the Mongol tribal organization and its political structure was showing signs of decay. An astute and seasoned statesman as he was, Balban carefully watched the activities of the Mongols and diverted all the resources of the Empire towards the protection of his frontiers⁵. To keep himself aware of the Mongol movements and supervise personally his defence measures, Balban went out everyday upto Riwari under the pretext of military exercises and hunting excursions⁶. The appointment of Prince Muhammad as the warden of the marches was a very firm and determined step towards the elimination of Mongol influence from the cis-Indus region. Prince Muhammad very successfully carried out the policy of his father and cleared his territories of the Mongols. This provoked the Mongols and in, 1285, Timar Khan, a Chengizi noble and governor of Harat, invaded Sind with an army of twenty thousand men. Prince Muhammad proceeded to repel it but was killed in the encounter. Balban had to pay a heavy price for his policy of

1. See *supra*, p. 256.

2. *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*, Vol. I, p. 75.

3. See *supra*, pp. 122-123.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 322.

5. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 51.

6. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 54.

resistance but it considerably enhanced his prestige inside and outside the country.

Relations with the Abbasids

We have referred in an earlier chapter to the relations of the Delhi Sultans with the Abbasid Caliphs. The Caliphate of Baghdad disappeared during the reign of Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud. The only Sultan of Delhi who had had any opportunity of establishing contact with Baghdad was Iltutmish. He maintained diplomatic relations with Baghdad and frequently exchanged envoys. Twice during his reign, Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan Saghani came to Delhi as the envoy of Khalifah al-Nasir la-Din Allah (575-623 A.H./ 1179-1225 A.D.) and his successors. Iltutmish did not lag behind in sending his own envoys to him. Minhaj writes about Ikhtiyar ul-Mulk Rashid-u'd-din Abu Bakr Habsh¹:

از حضرت بر سالت نصر بغداد رفته بود

which means that he was sent to Baghdad on a mission by the court of Delhi. Probably he was sent to secure *manshur* from the *khalifah*. Once the Caliph sent Qazi Jalal 'Urus with an old copy of *Safinat-u'l-Khulafa* which contained some autographic inscription from Mamun-u'r-Rashid. Barani tells us that the Sultan was so pleased with this present that he wanted to give half of his kingdom to Qazi Jalal as a reward for bringing this valuable gift².

Commercial Relations

Under the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi commercial contacts with the outer world were developed in spite of the irruption of the Mongols. The general impression that the Mongols upset all commercial contacts and rendered all trade routes unsafe is not correct. The message which Chengiz Khan sent to Sultan Muhammad Khwarizm Shah shows his anxiety to maintain and develop commercial contacts. He said:

"Let there be between us a firm treaty of friendship, amity and peace, and let traders and *karwans* on both sides come and go, and let the precious products

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 279. Raverty translates it thus: "had proceeded from the court of Delhi on a mission to Misr (Egypt) and Baghdad." (p. 796). I think the word *misr* does not indicate Egypt. It is used in its literal sense and means 'city' only.

It may be noted that Nasir la-Din Allah was himself very keen on establishing diplomatic contacts with Muslim powers. In 576/1179, a year after his accession, he had sent his envoy to Sultan Salah-u'd-din Ayyubi. *Tarikh-ul' Khulafa*, Suyuti (*Matba al'-Sa'adah*, Egypt).

2. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 103.

and ordinary commodities which may be in my territory be conveyed by them into thine and those of thine, in the same manner, let them bring into mine."¹

It was as a result of this attitude that when Tayir invaded Lahore in 1241, the merchants of that town indirectly extended co-operation and support to him. Minhaj writes:

"Most of the inhabitants of the city were merchants and traders and had undertaken journeys, during the time of the Mughals, into the upper parts, into Khurasan and Turkistan, and, by way of precaution, every one of them had obtained a pass from the Mughal, and a safe conduct, and, knowing this, in defending and fighting for the safety of the Hisar of Lahore, they used not to act in unison with Malik Kara-Kush, and would neither render assistance nor make resistance, nor encounter the enemy."²

It appears from medieval records that foreign merchants came to India in large numbers. Under Baha-u'd-din Tughral, Thankar (Bayana) "became so prosperous and populous that merchants from distant places like Khurasan began to visit that place"³. Amir Khurd's grandfather, Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani, regularly traded for a long time between Kirman and Lahore⁴. 'Isami refers to the presence of Chinese traders in Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish. These merchants were allowed access to the Sultan also⁵. The two commodities which were constantly flowing into the country from foreign lands were the horses and the slaves. Horses were imported from Turkistan, Russia, Iraq and Bahrain⁶. When the import of horses was threatened as a result of political changes in Central Asia, Balban is reported to have boasted that he could maintain the necessary supplies even if the horses from the Mongol territory did not reach him⁷. Slaves were brought from Turkistan, Aden and Egypt⁸. Balban was brought by Khwaja Jamal-u'd-din Qazi from Baghdad to Gujarat⁹. Malik 'Izz-u'd-din Balban Kishlu Khan was taken by the slave merchants to Mandavar where Iltutmish purchased him.¹⁰

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Raverty, p. 960.

2. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 393, Raverty, p. 1133.

3. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 145.

4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 208.

5. *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p. 122.

6. *Masalik-u'l-Ahsar*, p. 22.

7. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 53.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 265.

9. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 281.

10. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 268.

Intellectual and Cultural Relations

Another important aspect of India's contact with the outer world was in the realm of ideas. In the early years of the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi, Baghdad, Bukhara, Samarqand, Balkh and other Transoxianan cities were looked upon as the centres of Muslim learning. All those who desired to acquire higher education in different branches of Muslim sciences turned to these places¹. Scholars apart, even Sultans looked to these regions for intellectual guidance². Balban's son, Prince Muhammad, had correspondence with the great Persian poet, Sa'di, and had even, invited him to India.³

When the Mongols reduced these cultural centres into shapeless ruins, many scholars and divines turned to India and settled here. Very soon the situation changed so completely that instead of Indian Muslims going to other lands for intellectual guidance, Muslims from different parts of 'Ajam began to visit India. Sayyid Husaini⁴ and Fakhr-u'd-din 'Iraqi⁵ came to Multan from distant lands and joined the circle of Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya's disciples. People from Khurasan visited the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar⁶. During the reign of Balban, two saints came from Chisht—the cradle land of the Chishti *silsilah*—in order to persuade Shaikh 'Ali Chishti to return to Chisht and revitalize the *silsilah* in its homeland⁷.

Itineracy being an essential part of mystic discipline in those days, mystics were an important medium for maintaining cultural and intellectual contacts with the world outside. The first information about the works of Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i-'Arabi reached India through Shaikh Fakhr-u'd-din 'Iraqi⁸.

1. See *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* (p. 170) for Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishaq's desire to go to Bukhara in order to get his difficulties solved by the 'Ulama of that place. See also *Siyar-u'l-Arifin* (p. 103), for Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya's education in those regions.

2. Iltutmish procured from Baghdad two very important books—*Adab-u's-Salatin* and *Ma'asir-u's-Salatin*, dealing probably with Muslim political theory, for his sons. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 145.

3. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 68.

4. Sayyid Sadr-u'd-din Ahmad b. Najm-u'd-din popularly known as Sayyid Husaini was a native of Harat. He was a prolific writer. Of his works, *Nuzhat-u'l-Arwah*, *Zad-u'l-Musafirin*, and *Kanuz-u'r-Rumuz* are well known. He lies buried in Harat. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 110.

5. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, pp. 107-109.

6. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 63-64.

7. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 212.

8. *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, p. 109.

Since many of the refugees who had come and settled in India under the pressure of Mongol invasions, had left their relatives behind, some sort of family contacts continued for generations. Minhaj-u's-Siraj sent large number of slaves and horses to his sister who was in great distress in Khurasan¹. There must have been many other similar cases of contact between India and the outside world.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 213-214.

See also *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, (p. 73) for Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznavi's desire to go home and meet his relatives.

APPENDIX A

Some Documents of the 13th Century

- i. *A Fath Namah*
- ii. *An Ijazat Namah*
- iii. *A Khilafat-cum-Ijazat Namah*
- iv. *A Khilafat Namah*
- v. *A Khutbah*
- vi. *A Saint's letter to the Sultan.*

(i) A FATH NAMAH

The following *Fath Namah* was drafted by Amir Khusrau on the occasion of Balban's Lakhnauti campaign (*I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. IV, pp. 4-13). This was the poet's first attempt at drafting a *fath namah*. He himself says :

این فتح نامه در عهد سلطان مرحوم غیاث الدین در فتح لکهنوتی بود
اول امتحانی بود که قلم انشاء خود را کردم

It appears from the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* that Malik Qiwan-u'd-din Dabir had prepared a *fath namah* on this occasion. Barani writes:

ملک قوام الدین دبیر خاص جانب دهلی فتح نامه نبشت که آن فتح نامه
دستور دبیران شده است

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, p. 91.

Again on p. 169 he remarks about Malik Qiwan-u'd-din :

تا چه ساحری ها که در فتح نامه لکهنوتی کرده است

This means that either more than one *fath namahs* were issued on any particular occasion or that the *Fath Namah* prepared by Amir Khusrau was a private essay and was not an official document. Since Amir Khusrau was very young at this time, it is highly improbable that he should have been asked to prepare such an important document. Malik Qiwan-u'd-din's *Fath Namah* does not seem to have survived. The present *Fath Namah*, drafted by Amir Khusrau, gives us an idea of the form and spirit of the medieval *fath namahs*.

فتح نامه لکهنوتی بر دست سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن شاه
حمدی که بسبب بشارات فتح و نصرت بر انصار مات حنفی فرض گردد
و ثنائی که بموجب توفیق غزا و مجاهدات بر اعوان دین هدی واجب آید، حضرت
کبریای فتاح مطلق و پادشاه بحق را تعالی جده و توالی ذره که ذات فروغ
صفات مارا برای تائید اوامر احمدی و تقویت شرع شرائع محمدی بمرتبه
جهانبانی و کشورستانی برکشیده و مقالید فتح و ضبط عالم و ازمه حل و عقد
طبقه بنی آدم بکف کفایت و انامل اقتدار ما باز بست و ضمیر ملهم مرا در
اتمام مهمات دین مختار و هدم مہبانی کفره نابکار همتی و اثق و رغبتی صادق بخشیده
و شمشیر معاند فرسائی مارا مصباح معابد اسلام و مفتاح مغالطی هفت اقلیم گردانید
و رای ملک آرای مارا در ترتیب مقدمات عقل و داد و تمهید قواعد غزا و جهاد

آئینه تصاویر صواب و دیباجه تماثیل صلاح ساخت و کسوت توفیق اسلام آرائی و نطق توکید کفر زدای بر قد اقبال و کمر اجلال ما چست و درست کرد و کتایب نصر و فیروزی و رایات فتح و بهروزی را در کلف الویه منصوره ما محل استظلال اوزانی داشت؛ تا باعتماد این سوابق نعم و استظهار این لواحق کرم در هر جهت که فوجی از جیش نصرت شعار نامزد می فرمائیم جمیع امور ملک پروری و جمهور مهمات دین گستری بر حسب ارادت خاطر انور ما انتظام و الیتام پذیرد و قلاع و بلاد متمردان سرکش و معاندان و متعذدان گردن تاب که هیچگاه غبار نعلی از خیول اسلام بر فروه بقاع آن نگذشته بود و صدمه نغز از اجنحه جیوش سلاطین مجاهد بضیاع و بناع آن ملحق نه گشته.

بیشتر جهدی که از بندگان درگاه گیتی پناه در حیز وجود می آید و قلیل سعی که از فرستادگان جناب سلاطین مآب بحتصول می پیوند و کلید آن مرادات با بشارت فتوحات مستقبل بخزانة اقبال ما تسلیم می شود و بشکرانه تواتر این مواهب و توالی این عوارف همت پادشاهانه ما بران مقصور می باشد که عرصه ملت عدی را هر روز متسع تر گردانیم و آثار بغی و ضلال را هر لحظه مندرس تر و بسیط ربع مسکون را از لوث شرک و بطلان مظهر کنیم و به حایه شرع و عدل مزین و بجائی صوف عبده اصنام صفوف عباد کرام را حسن اقامت دهیم و ابنیه معابد باطل را بانهدام و اندراس در خاک تزلزل افکنیم و عمارت معاریب و منابر حزب مصطفوی را بقواعد استحکام تاسیس فرمائیم.

باقضای این نیت صادق که مستدعی کرم الهی و مستجلب نعم نامتناهی ست ملک ملوک الشرق اختیار الدوله والدين الف قتلغ مبارک باربک بگلربک ادام الله مکنته؛ را که از بندگان پسندیده خدمت درگاه ما ست و سالها بشرف تقریب و ترحیب ما اختصاص داشته و از آفتاب تاثیر آفتاب این دولت که برو تافته است بجمال فیروزی و کمال عدو بندی و ترتیب لشکر کشی و تدبیر کافر کشی سر آمده روزگار و برآمده نامدار گشته، با نواع و الوان آثار نیکو بندگی باظهار رسانیده و بهر مهم که نامزد شده بشمشیر کامیاب و تدبیر صواب برنمطی اکتفا کرده که در تصور فیلسوف عقل و مهندس خیال نگنجد؛ تا طوری که از چشم منصور بمتابعت دغلیز همایون ما که مظلله بیضه دین و ایمان و مزله فرقه بغی و طغیان است متوکلاً علی الله بضبط دیار جاجنگر و اوده که در اقصای ربع مسکون قریب شط دریای محیط است و از قدیم الایام بسبب بعد مسافت و کثرت پیل و سوار و

جمعیت بیاده بی شمار از طوائف جهاد مصئون و مامون مانده، نامزد فرمودیم و توامی نمود که در جوامع احوال و مصارف اعمال سیاق کاررانی مارا دستور پرداخت مصالح و مقتدای کفایت مهمات سازد و طوائف غزاة را که بر قضیه فضل الله المجاهدین علی القاعدین درجه حقوق مجاهدت و جان سپاری بشناسد و هنگام قلع و استیصال کفره و صایاء نیت لیظهرة علی الدین کله را که باقدام و اقامت آن ماموریم و در اتمام آن ماجور، پیشوای مناهج امور سازد.

چون بدین ارشاد صائب ضمیر قابل او را مخطی گردانیدیم، فرمان فرمودیم که مستعد غزا و جهاد روی براه آرد آن بنده مخلص با حشمتی که نامزد او بود بر سمت آن دیار دور دست نهضت نمود و کوچ بکوچ در راه دراز بقطع شیب و فراز و مالهس انجام و انجام و شواصخ آجام و اطواد آئین حشم گماری و ترتیب سپهداری بر نهجی رعایت نمود که نه حوافر مراکب را مضرتی لاحق می شد و نه اخفاف مطیات را شقی ظاهر.

چون افواج لشکرهای مادران حدود در آمدند و تزلزل در اطراف و اکناف آن دیار افتاد، مالدیو رانه ساین رای جاجنگری که یکی از زمینداران کبار آن سرحد است، با پنجاه زنجیر پیل و پنج هزار سوار و دو هزار پایک تیغ زن نازنده بعزم دست آزمائی جنود منصوره تجاسر نمود. شیران لشکر که تشنه خون آن مخاذیل بودند و آن افواج نخچیر را بازروئی تمام طلب می کردند در حال وساعت از کمین تصویر بیرون جستند و چون امداد آسمانی ممدحق و مبطل بطلان بود، بیک دست برد بیشتری از ایشان را زیر تیغ آبدار گذرانیدند.

و از آنجا که اقبال نصرت آثار ماریاة قادر شست را بحسن توصیت مرشد گردانیده بود که هنگام محاربت و مصارمت لشکرها در تحفظ پیلان دکن باقصی الغایت کوشش نمایند، ایشان تا حد امکان نصال کوه شکاف را کشاد مطلق نمیدادند و صیانت پیلان از کلیات امور می پنداشتند و چون محقق کردند که در طریق مجاهدت خهرگی خصم و قصور این جانب لازم می آید ناچار شست قدرانه را باز کشادند و بیک سطوت چهار پیل کوه پیکر را بزخم تیر خار پشت ساختند و مبلغی از هلود نابکار علف شمشیر گشت انهزام دران مدابر افتاد و شست زنجیر پیل کوه پیکر در قید سلاسل بلندگان درگاه آمد. مایفتح الله للذاس من رحمة فلاممسک لها.

بعد ازان جیش نصرت شعار در سواد جهانبار که مستقر رای و مستودع ضرب ضلالت است، نزول کرد. سر لشکر فیروزمند، زاد الله حقاً و ثناء علیه از

پیدرامون حصار هرگانو که در غایت حصانت و نهایت متانت است در استعداد حصارداری برهالای آن از مردان دلاور و داوتان نامور و منجلیق و عراده بحد و تهر و ژوپین بیعد مرتب و مهیا گشته بعزیمت استخلاص طوف نمود و باشارت اقبال ما که ملقن ضمیر منیر اوست چشم و پهادۀ لشکر را بارتفاع آن بارۀ منیع اذن کرده تا مکان را بعضی به نردبان و بعضی بحبل استوار و بعضی بحبل دیگر بر بالا دویدند و یک بازوی حصار بقهر و غلبه ضبط کردند و خواستند که گرد هباء متدوراً از نهاد آن قلع مرتفعه بعروق رسانند -

درین اثنا رای بهدراحت من که بفراط درایت و وفور کیماست از شملۀ هنود ممتاز است چون قاعدۀ دست برد دلاوران لشکر منصور برآن نوع مشاهده کرد و خود را با تمامی اسباب زمینداری در حیز تلف و زوال و معرض قمع و نکال دید تصور نمود که لئن تستطیع معی هجرأ بنظر بصیرت هرآئینه پیش بندی گماشت و صلاح کار خویش را در اسیرتمان و استعفاء دانست تنی چند بافور فصاحت و نهایت کاردانی بترتیب مصالح و تدبیر اصلاح شفیع طغیان و تمود سابق بزمین بوس دهلیز سپهر رتبت ما پیش فرستاد -

بندگان درگاه چون آن معاند دین و پیشوای کفرۀ لعین را با همه استعداد حصارداری و استبعاد از آئین مطاوعت و خراج گزاری بعجز و مسکینت معترف دیدند و بعروۀ وثقی عفو و عواطف ما متمسک بحکم اذن و ارشادی که در حل و عقد و قبض و بسط معاهد و مامور از رای صائب و ضمیر ثاقب ما یافته اند بنضرع و تخشع او را باهدایا که پیشکش کرده بود در پذیرفتند و آنها را بنوید امن و امان مستظهر و مواعید سکونت و استقامت مستبشر باز گردانیدند - تا آن طائفه باعتماد این وثیقت و اعتضاد این معاهدت با بشارت خلاص جان و صیانت ارجای ارکان جانب رای شتافتند -

رای را فرحت این حال و مسرت این نوال بر نطی در اهتزاز آورد که پای تمکین در امن استقرار نماید - نخست بجهت تمهید مقدمات طاعت داری و تائید شرائط فرمان برداری پنجاه زنجیر پیل کوه شکوه که مدار بساط کاررانی و سری او بود با خزائن و دفاین و جواهر و نفائسی که از قدیم الایام مورث و مکتسب داشت - مصرع مالیس یحصه ولو یحصی الحصى - برسم خدمت در بند بندگی بندگان حضرت ما فرستاد -

دوم آن روز دست عجز برهم بسته اعتصام بحبل متین دهلیز همایون ما کرد و از حرارت آفتاب شمشیر بذیل سحاب رحمت استظلال نمود تا کرم مرحمت فرمای عاجز بخشای ما حاوی احوال و حامی اوقات آن پناهنده مستهام گشت و بندگان دولت را برآن داشت که بر اجلاس خدمتی او جائزه قبول مبدول داشتند و مطالب و مآرب او را بانجاح و اسعاف اتصال دادند و بیژده جان بخشی که جسیم ترین نعمتهاست و عظیم ترین دولتها، جیب رجاء و ذیل تمنا او را گرانبار گردانیدند - تا آن ملقاد و ثقی الاطاعت بفرحت این مبرت و تلذذ این مسرت که از تلاطم امواج بلیات بساحل خلاص پیوسته بود و شجره اصلتھ از ورطه قلع و استیصال بقاعده اثار اخبار استقرار یافته، گردن تعدد را بطوق تعهد توشیح داد - برسوخ مطاوعت و وسوخ معاہدت حامل ذمه شرع محمدي گشت - و شرائطی که برائی مستانف ایام در اطاعت اوامر و نواہی درگاه برو عرض کردند برضاء کامل و انقیاد تمام تقبل نمود -

(بیعت) آری آنجا که بود ضربت تیغ - هرکه گردن نهد سر بنهد -

چون بعون وافر الهی و آثار کرم نامتناهی همگی مهمات آن حدود بر وفق ارادت اولیای دولت بکفایت پیوست، دهلیز آسمان سای ما در کنف عصمت ایزوی برسمت حضرت سپهر رتبت (الازالت محفوفه بعواطف الرحمن و مکفوفه عن طوارق الزمان) با حصول مقاصد و وصول مآرب باتفاق مراجعت توجه نمود - بتاریخ پنجم ماه شوال سده ثمانین و ستمایه آراسته با کوکبه اقبال و مرتبه اجلال بمستقر جلال وصول یافت و جیش منصور بشرف زمین بوس، سده منیع ما مشرف گشت -

شعر - فالحمد لله الذی نصر الغزاة بعونه - حتی علا الاسلام اعلى من على -

برکفایت این مهم دیلی و اتمام این مآرب ملکی سجده شکر حضرت عزت جل و علا که موجب ترقی درجات جهانبنانی و مستجمع توظیف عطیات ربانی است، بخلوص عقیدت اقامت نمودیم و استبشار این بشارت که مهیج قلوب اهل ایمان و مکدر عیش و مره خذلان است، بر خویش واجب و لازم شناخت و باعلام این فتح بانام و اعلان این مسرت خاص و عام در اقاصی دیار و امصار مسالک مثال داد - تا سکه معموره فلان که رقم تودد و اخلاص ما بر لوح ضمائر ایشان کالنعش علی الفض متمکن است و مآثر دعوات صالحه ایشان ازین بابت ثمرها می دهد و احسان ضعیف پرور ما را در ترفیه احوال ایشان رعایتی هرچه قوی تر می نماید، برصول این فتحنامه مستبشر گردند -

از نعیم طرب و شادمانی و رحیق نشاط و کامرانی حظی کامل و نصیبی شامل بر گیرند و دعائی دولت قاهره ما که حامی بیضه اسلام و مسلمانی و حارس حوزه ایمانی است، فی آناء اللیل و اطراف النهار ورد وقت و حرز حال خود سازند تا بحسن عقائد آن دعاگویان غیبت که مخلصان بی ریب اند و برکات دعوات سالحه ایشان در صباح و مساء عزائم غزوات که در مستقبل ایام به نیت صادقۃ اتساع اسلام و استیصال کفره هفت اقلیم مصمم خواهد شد یا بشارت فتح و فیروزی اکتفا پذیرد بمشیة الله وعونه -

(ii) AN IJAZAT NAMAH (SCHOOL CERTIFICATE)

No teacher in medieval India could set up an educational institution and instruct people in different religious sciences unless he had obtained an *ijazat-namah* from an authority on the subjects he intended to teach. The *ijazat namah* was the medieval form of the modern certificates and diplomas.

The following certificate was granted to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya by his teacher, Maulana Kamal-u'd-din Zahid, a renowned *muhaddis* of Delhi in 679 A.H./1280 A.D. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 104-105).

This *Ijazat Namah* thus establishes the instructional *silsilah* of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya with the author of *Mashariq-u'l-Anwar*.

Maulana Razi-u'd-din Hasan Saghani
|
Maulana Burhan-u'd-din Mahmud As'ad al-Balkhi.
|
Maulana Kamal-u'd-din Zahid
|
Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لمن له الاهتداء والاعطاء و الصباح والرواح والمدح لمن له الآلاء
والنعماء والصبح والمداح، والصلوة الفصاح على نبي الفضائل السماء والكلمة والكلام
المفتاح والمناقض العليا والاحاديث الصبح صلوة ندوم دوام الصباح والرواح
و بعد فان الله تعالى وفق الشيخ الامام العالم الناسك السالك نظام الدين محمد
بن احمد بن على مع وفور فضاه في العلم و بلوغ قدوة ذروة الحكم مقبول المشائخ
الكبار منظور العلماء الاخيار والابرار بان قرأ هذا الاصل المستخرج من الصحيحين
على سطر هذه السطور في زمن الزمن الحار و درو الامطار من اوله الى آخره
قراءة بحث و اتقان و تنقيح معانيه و تنقيح مبانيه و كاتب السطور يرويه قراءة و
سماعاً عن الشيخين الامامين العالمين الكاملين احد الشيخين مولف شرح اثار
الفيهرين في اخيار الصحيحين والاخر صاحب الدرسين المنيرين الامام الاجل الكاظم
مالك رقاب النظام والنثر برهان الماتة والدين محمود بن ابي الحسن اسعد البلخي
رحمة الله عليهما رحمة و اسعة كتابة و شفاهة و هيايرو يانه عن مولفه و اجزته ان
يروى على كما هو المشروط في هذا الباب، والله اعلم بالصواب، و اوصيته ان لا ينساني
و اولادي في دعواته في خلوته و صبح له القراءة والسماع في المسجد المنسوب الى نجم
الدين ابي بكر التواسي رحمة الله في بلدة دهاي صانها الله عن الآفات و العاهات

و هذا خذ اضعف عباد الله و احقر خلقه محمد بن احمد بن محمد الماريكلى
الماقب بكمال الزاهد والفراغ من القراءة والسماع و كتب هذه السطور فى الثانى
والعشرين من ربيع الاول سنة تسع و سبعين و ستمائة حامدا لله تعالى و مصليا
عليه . رسوله -

(iii) A KHILAFAT-CUM-IJAZAT NAMAH

The following *Khilafat-cum-Ijazat Namah* was granted to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya by his spiritual master Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganji-Shakar (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 117-119). It confers spiritual authority on Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya and accords permission to teach *Tamhidat* of Abu Shakoor Salimi, a book dealing with the fundamentals of faith.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذى قدم احسانه على مئة و اخر شكره على نعمة هو الاول هو الآخر و الظاهر والباطن لا مؤخر لما قدم ولا مقدم لما اخر ولا معلن لما ابطن ولا مخفى لما اظهر ولا يكاد نطق الاوائل والا - و اخر على ديمومة اعتباراً او تقابلاً والصلوة على رسوله المصطفى محمد و آله و اهل الودود الارتضاء و بعد فان الشروع فى الاصول يوسع دعاء الشهود و يبصر لمن يكرع منها محارق الورد على ان الطريق مخوف والعقبة وكود - و نعم الكتاب فى هذا الفن تمهيد المبتدى ابنى شكور برد الله مضجعه وقد قرأ عندي الولد الرشيد الامام النقى العالم الرضى نظام الملة والدين محمد بن احمد زين الائمة والعلماء منخر الاجلة والا تقيا اعانه الله على ابتغاء مرضاته و اناله منتهى رحمة و اعلى در جاته سبقاً بعد سبق من اوله الى اخره قراءة تدبرو ايقان مستجمع رعاية سمع و دراية جنان و كما حصل الوقوف على حسن استعدادة كذلك وفور تهيئة اجزته ان يدرس فيه المتعلمين بشرط المجانية عن التصحيف والغطا والتكريف و بذل الجهد و الاجتهاد فى التصحيح والتفقيح عن الزلل و غلته المعول والله العالم و كان ذلك يوم الاربعاء من الشهر المبارك رمضان عظمه الله ببركته بالاشارة العالية ادام الله الغنى اسحاق بن على بن اسحاق الدهلوى بمشافهته حامداً و مصلياً فاجزت له ايضاً بان يروى عنى جميع ما استفادته و حوى و سمع ذلك منى ودعى والسلام على من اتبع الهدى و اجزت له ايضاً ان يلازم الخلوة فى مسجد اقيمت فيه الجماعة ولا يخل بشرائطها التى بها حصول الزيادة و برفضها تكون الاقدام عاتله ناصية و ذالك تجريد المقاصد من مفسادها و تفريد الهمة عما تغفلها و بيان ذالك ما قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كن فى الدنيا كأنك غريب او كعابدى سبيل وعد نفسك من اصحاب القبور " الحديث " فعند ذالك صح قصدة و اجتمع همته و صارت الهمة - المختلفة همة واحدة فليدخل الخلوة مفترداً نفسه معدماً للخلق عالماً بعجزهم تاركاً للدين و شهواتها و اقفاً على مضارها و امنيتها و تمكن خلوته معمورة بانواع العبادات اذا سئمت نفسه عن احتمال الاعاى ينزلها الى الادنى اذ ان حجت فلينزلها اما بعمل يسير او بالنوم

فان فيه احترازاً عن هواجس النفس وليحتدز ابطلاة فانها تقسى القلوب والله تعالى على ذلك اعانه و يحفظه عما شانه و رحمه و هو ارحم الراحمين صلى الله على محمد وآله وايضاً اذا استوفى حظه من الخلوة و انفتحت بها عين الحكمة و اجتمعت خلواته بمناذ ياته وصل اليه من لم يقدر الوصول اليها يستوفى اليه اياه فيده العزيزة نائبة عن يدنا و هو من جملة خلفائنا و التزام حكمه فى امرالدين والدنيا من جملة تعظيمنا فرحم الله من اكرمه وعظم من اكرمنا و ائهان من لم يحفظ حق من حفظنا صح ذلك كله من الفقير المسعود تم بعون الله و حسن توفيه والله اعلم -

(iv) A KHILAFAT NAMAH

No saint could set up an independent *Khanqah* and enrol disciples unless he was granted a *Khilafat Namah* (succession certificate) from some elder saint entitled to grant such certificates.

The following *Khilafat Namah* was granted by Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya to his disciple Maulana Shams-u'd-din Yahya, a renowned scholar of Delhi, in 724 A.H./1323 A.D. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 229, 231). It throws considerable light on the aims and objects of the medieval Muslim mystics in granting *Khilafat namahs* to their disciples.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذى سمى هم اوليائه عن اركوان الى الاكوان عارا و اعتنايته همومهم بالواحد الكنان بارا فداوت عليهم بكرة و عشيا كأس المكبة من كوتر محبوبهم داراً كلماجن عليهم الليل تشتغل قلوبهم من الشوق ناراً و تفيض اعينهم من الدمع مدرارا و يتمتعون بمناجاة الجيب اسراراً و يطوفون بسرايات العز افكارا لايزال منهم فى كل زمان من عليهم مكنونة نصارة العرفان فيظهر فى الاقطار آثارة و يزهر فى الآفاق انواره لسانه ناحق بالحق و هو داعى الله فى الخلق ليخرجهم من الظلمات الى النور يقربهم الى الرب الغفور - ثم - الصلوة على صاحب الشريعة الغراء والطريقة الزهراء رسول الرحمة المخصوص بخلافة ربه فى مقام البيعة و على خلفائه الراشدين الذين فازوا بكل مقام على و على آله الذين يدعون ربهم بالغداة والعشي - اما بعد فان الاعوة الى الواحد العلام من ارفع دعائم الاسلام و اوثق عروة فى الايمان على ماورد فى الخبر عنه عليه السلام و الذى نعمس محمد بيده لئن شئت لاقسمن لكم ان احب عباد الله الى الله الذين يحبون الله الى عباد الله و يحبون عباد الله الى الله فى الارض بالنصيحة والامرة و مامدح الله عباد الذين يقولون ربنا هب لنا من ازواجنا و ذرية تداقرة اعين و اجعلنا للمتقين اماماً و قد اوجبها الله تعالى على وفقه لاتباع سيد المرسلين وقائد الغر المحجلين بقوله عز وجل قل هذه سبيلي ادعوا الى الله على بصيرة انا و من اتبعنى و اتبعه انا يكون برعاية اقواله والاقتداء به فى اعماله و تنزيه السر عن كل ماسوا الله فى الوجود و الانقطاع الى المعبود ثم ان الولد الاعزالتقى والعالم المرضى المستوجه الى رب العالمين - شمس الملة والدين محمد بن يحيى افاض الله الواحد انواره على اهل اليقين و التقوى لماصح قصده الينا و ليس خرقه الارادة منا و استوفى الحظ من صحبتنا اجزت له اذا استقام على اتباع سيد الكائنات و استغرق الاوقات بالطاعات ورافت

القلب عن هواجس النفس و الخطرات و اعرض عن الدنيا و اسبابها ولم يدكن الى
ابنائها و اربابها و انقطع الى الله بالكأمية و اشرق في قلبه الانوار القدسية والا سرار
الماكوتية و انفتح باب فهم التعريفات الالهية ان يلبس الخرقة للمريدين و يرشد هم
الى مقامات الموقنين كما اجازنى بعد مالا حظنى بنظرة الخصاص و البسنى خرقة
الاختصاص شيخنا الفائح فى الاقطار فوائح نفتحاته الرائح فى التفائق لوامع كراماته
السائح فى عالم القدس افكاره البائح بمحبة الرحمن انارة قلب الورى علامة الدنيا
فريد الحق والشرع والدين طيب الله ثراه و جعل حظيرة التوبة مثواه وهولبس
الخرقة من ملك المشايخ السلطان الطريقة قتيل محبة الجسد طلب المنة والدين
بختيار اوشى و هو من بدر العارفين معين المنة والدين الحسن السجنى و هو من
حجة الحق على الخلق عثمان الهارونى و هو من سيدى الذلق الحاجى الشريف
الزندانى و هو من ظل الله فى الخلق مودود الجشتى و هو من ملك المشايخ
اهل التماين ناصر المنة والدين يوسف الجشتى و هو من ملجاء العباد محمد
الجشتى و هو من عمدة الابرار و قدوة الاخيار ابى احمد الجشتى و هو من سراج
الاتقياء ابى اسحاق الجشتى و هو من شمس الفقراء علو دينورى و هو من اكرم
اهل اتيمس هديره البصرى و هو من تاج الصالحين برهان العاشقين حذيفة
المرعشى و هو من سلطان السالكين برهان الواصين نارك المماكة و السلطنة ابراهيم
بن ايم و هو من قطب الولاية ابى الفضل و الفضائل والدراية الفضيل بن عياض
و هو من قطب العالم والشيخ المعظم عبدالواحد بن زيد و هو من رئيس التابعين
امام العالمين الحسن البصرى و هو من امير المؤمنين فى اعالى المقامات
المنتهى اليه خرقة كل طالب على بن ابى طالب كرم الله وجهه و قدس الله
اسرارهم و ابقى الى يوم القيامة انوارهم و هو من سيد المرسلين خاتم النبيين
المنوط باتباعه محبة رب العالمين محمد المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم و على
كل من به انتمى و اقتدى فمن لم يصل اليها و وصل اليه فقد استخلفناه
عنافيدة العزيزة نائبة عن يدنا و التزام حكمه فى امر الدين والدنيا من نعظيمنا و
عظمنا و أهان من لم يحفظ حق من حفظناه و الله الموفق الهادى والمستعان
و عليه التكلان ثم حرت هذه الاسطر بالاشارة العالية نظام الدين محمد بن احمد علاه
و صانه عن كل آفة و حماه بخط العبد الضعيف الراجى بالفضل الربانى حسين بن
محمد بن محمود العلوى الكرمانى و ذلك فى اليوم العشرين من ذى الحجة اربع
و عشرين و سبع مائة -

(v) A KHUTBAH

The following *Khutbah* was delivered by Muhammad 'Awfi in Multan on an 'Eid Day in 617 A.H./1920 A.D. (*Lubab-u'l-Albab*, Vol. I, pp. 115-116). The background of this *Khutbah* has been explained by 'Awfi in his *tazkirah*.

ايها الناس اعتبروا في هذه الشهور و الاحوال من تقلب الامور و الاحوال
 فان الله تعالى جعل الغالب مغلوباً والسالب مساوباً والناكب مذكوباً و مواد فساد
 الاعداء منقطعة و دايات اوليائه مرتفعة فلما بدلوا نعمة الله عليهم كدراً وأحلوا قومهم
 دارالبوار امطر الله عليهم شأبيب امطار الادبار فاقبلوا صيداً عامدين و ولوا حصيداً
 خامدين لم يابو عددهم وعديدهم و جزع عليهم خواصهم وعبيدهم عبرة للمنظار و تذكرة
 لاولى الابصار فهذا ابن السجا مخرج كقذح ابن مقبل وبنات الدهر مهمل فدوخ
 البلاد و روح العباد ولم شعث بلاد الهند وصحح سقيمه و وشح اعناق منابرها بالخطب
 المحبرة بالقاب الناصرين الامام و قسيمه واعجب بهذه الدولة الغراء بان صارت في
 ميدان السباق منجليها و (سائر الدول) بعقود مطاوعتها متحليها و هذه وفود غزاة قد
 اقبلوا والمرد اقبلوا و اخبروا بان اهلها قد اظهروا شعار الطاعة واحكموا انتصار التبانة
 و اليوم هذه السلطان فاعتبروا ايها الناس من صنع الله الكريم ذلك فضل الله يؤتيه
 من يشاء والله ذو الفضل العظيم -

(vi) A SAINT'S LETTER TO THE SULTAN

The following letter was written by Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar to Sultan Ghiyas-u'd-din Balban.

رفعت قصته الى الله ثم اليك فان اعطيته شيئاً فالمعطي هو الله و انت
المشكور و ان لم تعطه شيئا فالمالغ هو الله و انت المعذور -

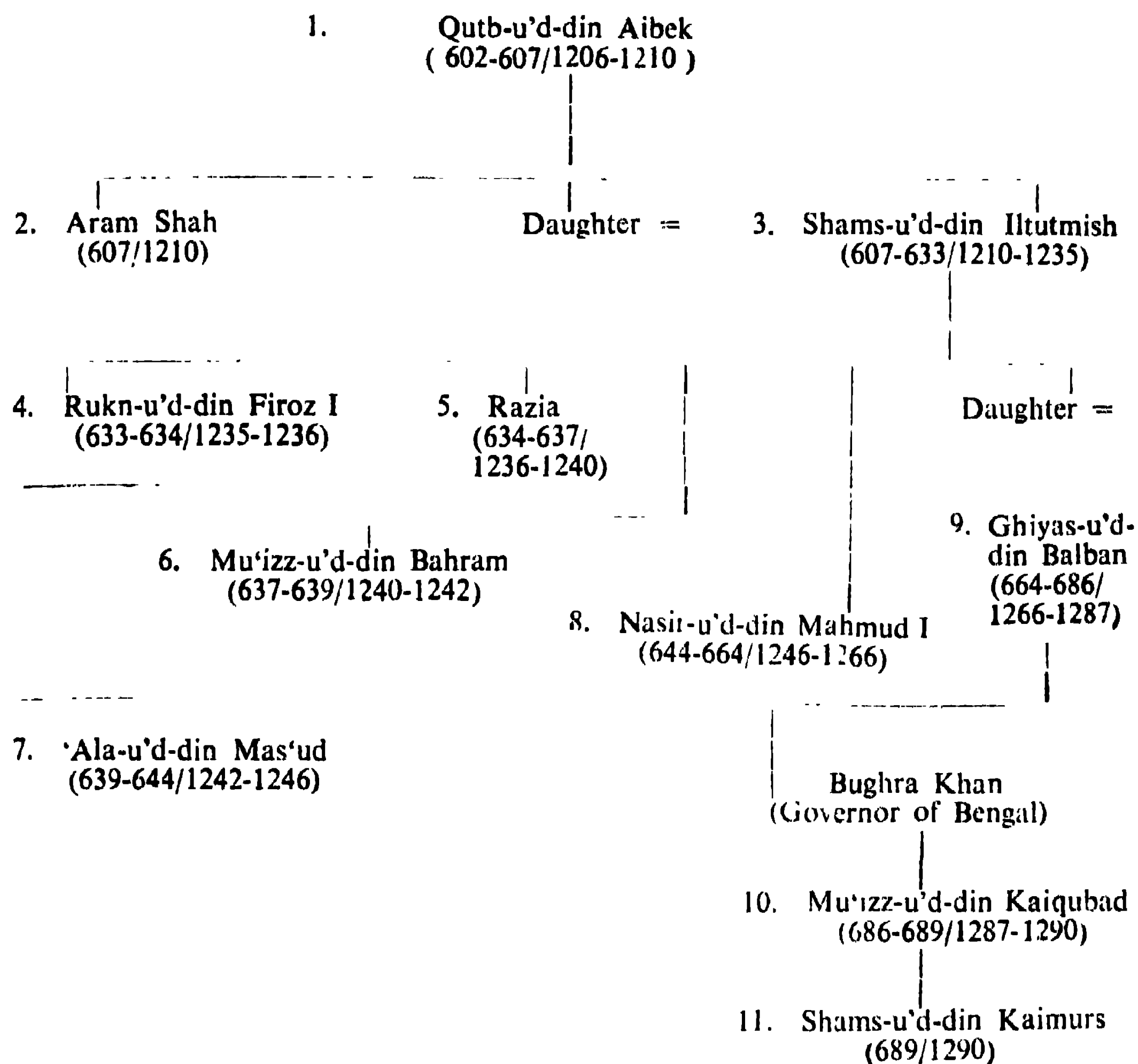
(*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 72).

APPENDIX B

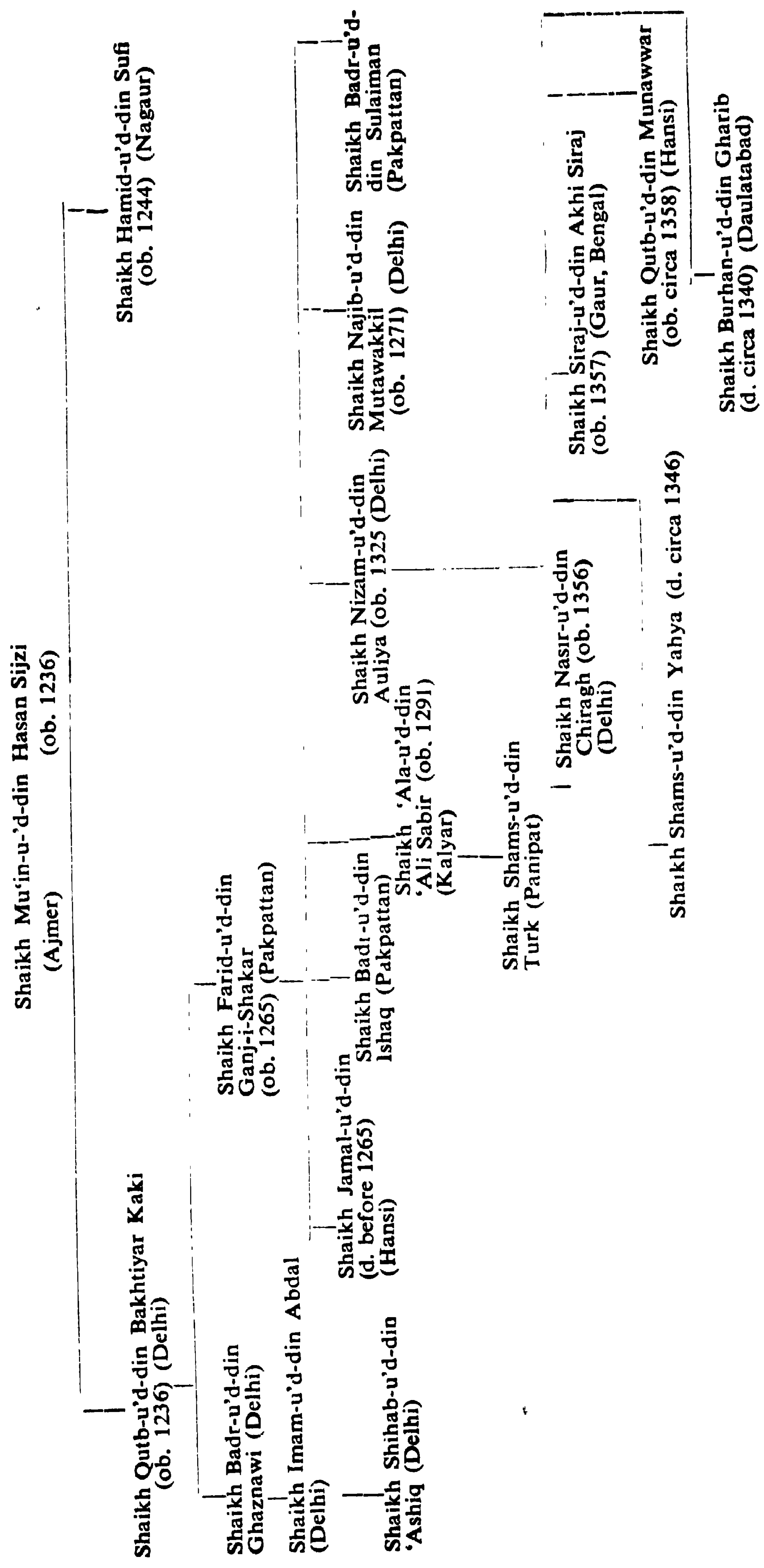
Genealogical and Other Tables

1. Early Turkish Sultans of Delhi.
2. The Chishti Silsilah in India.
3. The Suhrawardi Silsilah in India.
4. Contemporary Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad and Egypt.

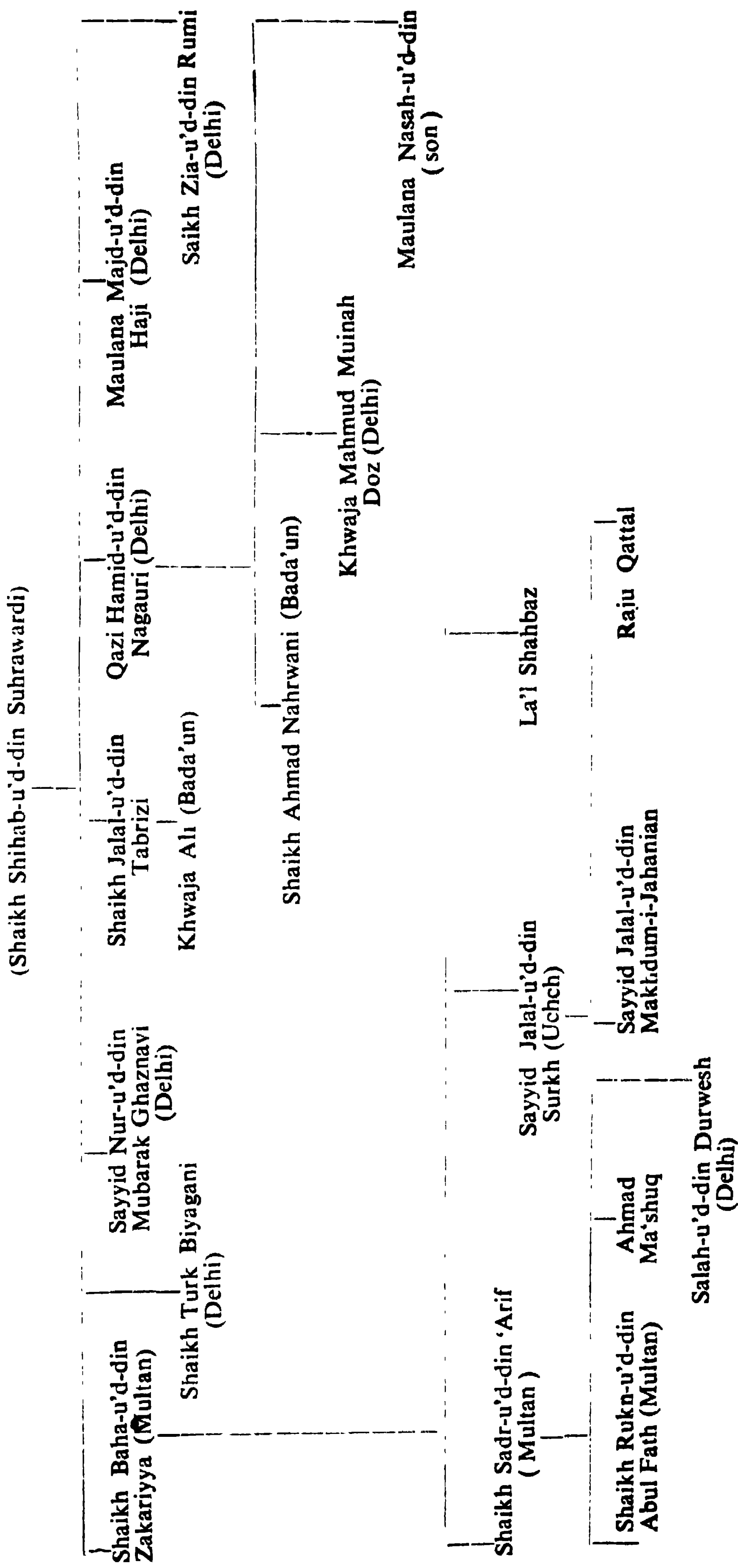
1. Genealogical Tree of the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi.



2. THE CHISHTI SILSILAH IN INDIA



3. THE SUHRAWARDI SILSILAH IN INDIA



4. Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad

1. Nasir la-Din Allah 575-622/1179-1225.
2. Zahir ba-Amr Allah 622-623/1225-1226.
3. Mustansir Billah 623-640/1226-1243.
4. Musta 'sim Billah 640-655/1241-1257.

Abbasid Caliphs in Egypt

1. Abu'l Qasim Ahmad al-Mustansir Billah 659-661/1262-1263.
2. Abu'l Abbas Ahmad al-Hakim ba-Amr Allah 661-701/1263-1301.

APPENDIX C

- (i) **Evaluation of source material.**
- (ii) **A Select Bibliography.**

(i) EVALUATION OF SOURCE MATERIAL

The writer of these lines had no intention to incorporate a separate note in the form of an Appendix on the evaluation of source-material as comments bearing on the value of sources used here have already appeared at different places in the body of this work. But, with the publication of Dr. Peter Hardy's scholarly study of the *Historians of Medieval India*, such an analytical survey has become necessary at one place.

The contemporary source-material used in preparation of the present work falls broadly under two categories:

- (a) Political chronicles, and
- (b) Non-Political literature, comprising general religious works, mystic treatises, *malfuzat*, poetic compositions, *tazkirahs* of poets, saints, etc.

While a modern writer cannot possibly ignore in the preparation of his work the apparatus of historical criticism provided by recent developments in the science of historiography, it would be anachronistic to determine the value of the historical literature of the middle ages in the light of modern theories and principles of criticism. The literature of every country and, in fact, of every age has its roots in the attitudes and traditions of the people who produced it and can be scrutinized only in the light of their own conceptual frame-work. Any indiscriminate application of later date principles of historical criticism to the literature of the middle ages is bound to obstruct a clear appraisal of the medieval ideas and institutions.

1. In the history of Muslim historiography one comes across two very distinct traditions of history-writing—the Arab and the Persian. Uptil the 11th century the Arab method of writing history was generally in vogue in almost all Muslim countries and all scholarly works were written in Arabic. The Arab historians had a very wide concept of history and included in it almost everything relating to human society and institutions. They did not confine their histories to the camp or the court alone but tried to write the *history of an age* in which social and cultural events were given equal, nay even greater, importance than mere political details. So, instead of arranging historical events according to successive reigns of various kings, they classified them year by year—a practice which in Europe is not earlier than 1597 A.D. Tabari (ob. 923 A.D.), Miskawayh (ob. 1030 A.D.) and later Arab historians like, Ibn-i-Asir (ob. 1234), Abul Fida (ob. 1331) and Zahabi (ob. 1348 A.D.) have followed this method in their historical compositions.

The spirit of Persian Renaissance, however, brought about a change in Muslim historiography. When the Arabic language was given up, the Arab method of writing history was also dispensed with. The ancient spirit of Persia was invoked to forge a new path and the *history of the age* was converted into the *history of the kings*. Towards the beginning of the thirteenth century historical works were written in Persian in all countries from India to Asia Minor under the influence of Persian Culture. It was seldom that one came across a historian who, like Hassan Nizami Nishapuri, still longed to write in Arabic. The general trend was to plan all historical works on the Persian model and survey the social landscape from the foot of the royal throne and treat the biography of a sovereign as the history of the times.

2. The historical literature of medieval India is largely the product of chroniclers who were brought up in these Persian traditions. They were either associated with the imperial courts or were anxious to win royal favour through their compositions. In this respect also the histories of medieval India mark a complete departure from the Arab traditions. "The Arab historians," observes Margoliouth, "were very rarely official historians whose duty it is to record what the government wants to record. Tabari and others mention cases wherein literary works were ordered by Caliphs, such as the collection of ancient lays ordered by al-Mahdi, and the manuals of the four orthodox systems ordered by al-Qadir. They do not seem to mention a case of a historical work ordered by a Caliph." (*Lectures on Arab Historians*, p. 13).

3. Apart from the fact that a Persian historian's historical conspectus was limited to the court, he had to write under one very serious handicap. His selection of material and criticism of events was determined by the wishes, both explicit and implicit, of his royal patron. Conscious of the fact that "one of the indispensable conditions of history writing and one which is absolutely obligatory in the interest of piety, is that when the historian writes of the excellences, the good deeds, the justice and equity of the ruler or of a great man, he must also not conceal his vices and evil deeds", they suggested the following remedy to an official historian: "If a historian considers it expedient he should speak openly, but if not, *he should speak by insinuations, in hints, and in covert and learned allusions.*" (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* pp. 15-16.) It is difficult to say how far this subterfuge worked successfully but it is certain that the problem was so serious that it exercised the mind of many a medieval chronicler. Mir Khwand (ob. 1498 A.D.) almost repeats Zia-u'd-din Barani when he writes: "*The official historian should, by hints, insinuations, overpraise, and such other devices as may come to hand, never*

fail to express his true opinion, which, while, remaining undetected by his illiterate patron, is sure to be understood by the intelligent and the wise". This being the common attitude of the political chroniclers of medieval India and Persia, it becomes extremely difficult to determine where a historian is sincere in his observations and where he is merely 'playing a part'. Quotations or references picked up at random from medieval chronicles can hardly be of any use unless the author's psychology is fully analysed and his preferences and prejudices are clearly understood. A modern writer has, therefore, to put different questions to his historical data in order to separate 'facts' from 'fiction' and distinguish between 'facts' and 'interpretation'. What is a writer's source of information? Is he merely recording hearsay or had he any direct or indirect contact with the events he has recorded? To which social, religious or political 'group' he belonged? What is his personal attitude towards the different problems of religion and politics? What was his purpose in compiling his work? While thus 'screening' a political chronicle, the historical sense of a modern historian may not be satisfied with the 'interpretations' of a medieval chronicler, but, if he succeeds in eliciting answers to these questions and it is established that a 'fact' has been correctly recorded, he can proceed to interpret it in his own way. For instance, both Barani and 'Isami independently write that the execution of Sayyidi Maula was followed by black dust storm, draught and famine. Now so far as these occurrences are concerned, the mere fact that two historians have independently recorded them is enough to establish their truth. But a modern writer can refuse to accept any causal relationship between the execution of Sayyidi Maula and these calamities and can dismiss these 'interpretations' as expressions of their credulous bent of mind.

4. It would be unjust to the medieval Persian chroniclers to think that they recorded facts and incidents without making necessary investigations in their own ways. The Arab writers of the middle ages had evolved elaborate principles of historical criticism in the form of *usul-i-isnad* whereby a narrative can be traced to the original eye witness who narrated it. The extent to which the Arab historian utilised these principles may be estimated from Ibn Asakir's (ob. 1175 A.D.) *History of Damascus* wherein he quotes different chains of authorities for the same or nearly the same matter. The Persian historians did not apply these principles to their historical writings with the same meticulous care with which the Arab historians had applied them, but, since these principles had become part of Muslim theological studies and were applied with uncompromising sternness to the most sacred branch of Muslim religious literature i.e. the *ahadis*—they became part of the academic discipline of the medieval Muslim scholars and consciously or

unconsciously determined their treatment of all historical subjects. The relationship which the medieval historians established between *hadis* and history is clear from the following observations of Zia-u'd-din Barani: "Secondly, the science of *Hadis*—all the words and deeds of the Prophet and the most precious form of knowledge after Quranic Commentary, the discovery and confirmation of narrations, and of events recorded in tradition, the warlike activities of the Holy Prophet, the establishment of a chronology, the abrogation of traditions—all these are connected with history and *it is on this account that the science of history is entirely bound up with the science of tradition. The great Imams of tradition have said that history and tradition are twins and if the traditionist is not an historian he will not be informed, of the activities of the Holy Prophet. . . .*" (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* pp.10-11.) This tie-up of history with the science of *hadis* led to the application of all those principles of criticism to history which the *muhaddisin* had evolved and which, according to Hitti, meet the most essential requirements of modern historiography. 'Isami says that while recording the events of the reigns of the various Sultans,

همه با نواریخ کردم و جوع
چو دیدم موافق اصول و فروع

5. The best corrective to the impressions created by the political chronicles of the period is the *malfuz* literature of medieval India. If the political chroniclers concentrated on the courts and the camps, most of the mystics of the period disliked even a reference to the rulers of the age and kept themselves at a distance from the centres of political power and authority. The political chronicles and the *malfuzat* breathe two different atmospheres and seem to belong to two different worlds. It is for a modern historian to establish liaison between the two and present on this basis a synthetic picture of the medieval society and institutions. In the present work an attempt has been made to make a fairly extensive and critical use of both these sources.

Political Chronicles

The three most outstanding historians of the thirteenth century are Sadr-u'd-din Hasan Nizami, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and Minhaj-u's-Siraj. All of them wrote for the rulers and with a view to win royal favour but their approach and treatment of the subject is far from identical. Minhaj's effort seems to have been to justify all actions of the Turkish governing class. In almost all the conflicts and tensions of the period which he has described, he has been on the right side of the Turkish oligarchy. He is truthful in so far as the actual details of incidents he has recorded are concerned but in his

analysis of causes and circumstances he has been carried away by his prejudices. His evaluation of the characters and activities of 'Imad-u'd-din Raihan and Nur Turk is coloured and prejudiced for the simple reason that both represented forces which were arrayed against his collaborators in the religious and the political spheres. 'Imad-u'd-din Raihan wanted to break the Turkish monopoly of power and Minhaj's interests were clearly linked up with the interests of the Turkish oligarchy; Nur Turk was critical of the materialistic pursuits and mundane ambitions of the *'ulama* and Minhaj was actually wallowing in it. Minhaj's account of all men and movements where such tensions are involved should be read with a grain of salt.

Hasan Nizami's approach towards history was more literary than historical. He strained after a pedantic display of eloquence and rhetorics and reduced history to epigrams and enigmas. His endless metaphors and allegories and allusions fall like whips upon a reader's nerves, and tire him out at last. But this style was largely due to the circumstances in which he had to prepare his work. He left Nishapur with the intention of seeking his fortunes in India. While on his way to Delhi from Ghazni where he had stayed for some time and had enjoyed the company of eminent saints and scholars (شفای روح و غذای دل), some bandits deprived him of all his belongings and in a state of utter destitution he reached Delhi. Soon afterwards he fell ill. Destitution combined with illness reduced him to a state of abject misery. Somehow he attracted the eye of the *Sadr*, Sharaf-ul-Mulk. This must have mitigated to some extent his poverty but his talent was far from being duly recognized. This is why he so often talks about "unfavourable circumstances" and laments the lack of opportunities for the "recognition of talent". However, he was in a mood of utter frustration and complete disillusionment when a royal announcement was made inviting scholars to prepare an account of the conquests of Shihab-u'd-din. This was an ideal opportunity to make a public display of his literary talent and earn fame and fortune. He set out to prepare a history of the Turkish conquests so that در انواع بلاغت و اقسام فصاحت چشم عالمیان خیره ماند This purely personal motive apart, he does not seem to have had any particular party affiliations or prejudices like Minhaj. His failings were the failings of an unrecognized genius. When the husk of verbiage is removed from his narrative, he comes out as a truthful narrator without any axe to grind. At places his information is definitely more revealing than the information supplied by his eminent contemporary, Minhaj-u's-Siraj. For instance, Minhaj sends the Rai of Ajmer "to hell" soon after his capture but Hasan Nizami tells us that his life was spared after his capture and that he was put to death subsequently on account of his hostile activities. Again, according

to Minhaj, the Rai of Delhi was slain in the battle but Hasan Nizami tells us that the Sultan spared his life when he consented to pay tribute. With regard to the capture of the fort of Ranthambbor by Iltutmish, Minhaj says that "more than seventy kings had appeared at the foot of the forts, and not one of them had been able to reduce it". (p. 172); Hasan Nizami on the other hand tells us that Ranthambbor was in possession of the Mussalmans in the time of Qutb-u'd-din Aibek.

Since Hasan Nizami was writing in compliance with a royal proclamation, he could not help following the traditional style of the medieval *fath namahs*. His account of the destruction of temples is exaggerated because this exaggeration alone could produce the *effect* he was straining after and which, of course, was the purpose of this compilation. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir refers to the destruction of temples at Benares alone (p. 24), but Hasan Nizami speaks about wholesale demolition of temples at Ajmer, Meerut, Delhi, Kol and Kalinjar. Archaeological evidence militates against some of his exaggerated statements. If the number of Hindus killed in different campaigns, as given by Hasan Nizami, is put together it would appear that the entire population of India was destroyed as a result of the Turkish campaigns! Such statements, if taken literally, can only blur our historical perspective.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's family was closely associated with the later Ghaznavid rulers. His great grandfather, Abul Farah, was the treasurer of Sultan Ibrahim Shah of Ghaznin (1059-1099), and held twenty-one different offices from time to time. Unfortunately Fakhr-i-Mudabbir does not say anything about his own early life. It appears that most of his life was spent at Lahore where he compiled his *Bahr-u'l-Ansab*. He seems more inclined towards the Ghaznavids than towards the Ghurids and probably his work also was intended to be presented to the Ghaznavids but change of political circumstances obliged him to dedicate it to Iltutmish. The *Adab-u'l-Harb* abounds in large number of stories relating to the Ghaznavids but contains little information about the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi. It is strange that this solitary work on the art of warfare written early in the 13th century completely ignores any detailed analysis of the Turkish campaigns in India. A careful study of his works reveals that he belonged to the school of traditional theologians but was deeply influenced by the spirit of the Persian Renaissance. He quotes verses from the Quran, the sayings of the Prophet very frequently but the respect for Sassanid traditions ultimately determines his conclusions. His style shows maturity of thought and expression. It is neither matter-of-fact and simple like Minhaj's nor ornate and embellished

like that of Hasan Nizami. Taken as a whole, Minhaj's approach was more that of a government servant and politician; Fakhr-i-Mudabbir represented the approach of a traditional theologian; Hasan Nizami had a litterateur's point of view.

So far as the sources of information of these three chroniclers are concerned, Minhaj alone seems to have had detailed personal knowledge of the contemporary events he has recorded in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*. Since he had been closely associated with the Ghurid ruling house, his knowledge of the Ghurid family, its traditions and achievements was definitely more comprehensive and minute than that of any other contemporary writer. Hasan Nizami had come to Delhi when the first phase of conquest was over and the Sultanate of Delhi had definitely come into being. He cannot, therefore, be expected to be more detailed in his account of the Turkish campaigns than Minhaj. Besides, Minhaj had a better sense of history than Fakhr-i-Mudabbir or Hasan Nizami. His anxiety to give chronological details and arrange his data in chronological order is an indication of his disciplined mind. The other two historians are parsimonious in dates. While utilising these three sources Minhaj's party affiliations, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's emphasis on traditional values in religion and politics and Hasan Nizami's literary exuberance have been kept in mind.

Amongst the later historians who have supplied valuable information about the thirteenth century, 'Isami and Barani deserve to be particularly noted. Both of them belonged to families which had a long record of association with the Sultans of Delhi. 'Isami's grandfather, 'Izz-u'd-din 'Isami, under whose fostering care he was brought up, was a *sipah salar* in Balban's army. He lived upto a ripe old age of 90 and died during the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq when the latter forced the citizens of Delhi to migrate to Daulatabad. 'Izz-u'd-din's father, Zahir-ul-Mulk, was the *wakil-i-dar* of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud. Fakhr-ul-Mulk 'Isami, a Wazir of Iltutmish, was the father of Zahir-ul-Mulk. It is true that no contemporary historian refers to any of the ancestors of 'Isami but this is not enough to reject 'Isami's account of his ancestors as spurious. One might suspect that this noble lineage was concocted by 'Isami in order to establish his position in the Bahmanid kingdom, but the fact cannot be ignored that the Muslim contemporaries of 'Isami in the Deccan were originally the residents of Delhi and a concocted genealogy could little serve his purpose. However, 'Isami's account of the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi is based on reports transmitted to him by his ancestors who were associated in one capacity or the other with the Ilbarite administration. Likewise Zia-u'd-din

Barani was also the member of a family having a long record of association with the Sultans of Delhi. His father Mu'ayyid ul-Mulk was *naib* to Arkali Khan, second son of Jalal-u'd-din Khalji. His paternal uncle, 'Ala-ul-Mulk, was the Kotwal of Delhi under 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji. His maternal grandfather, Sipah Salar Husam-uddin, was appointed *shahna* of Lakhnauti by Balban. Barani himself had been a *nadim* of Muhammad b. Tughluq for more than seventeen years. Thus both 'Isami and Barani were in a position to know many details about the life and activities of the Ilbarite Sultans.

So far as their sources of information are concerned, 'Isami does not mention any authority about the account of the individual Sultans or the various incidents recorded about them. He simply remarks that he had taken great pains in ascertaining the truth of the various incidents recorded by him. But Barani cites his father, grandfather and his teachers as his authorities for his account of the reigns of Balban and Kaiqubad (pp. 25, 127). He picks up the thread from the point where Minhaj leaves off. But 'Isami begins his narrative from Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. This is a departure from the contemporary conventions. Probably he was very much impressed by the legendary stories which were circulating in India in his day about Sultan Mahmud. 'Isami does not seem to have made any thorough use of either the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* or the *Taj-u'l-Ma'asir* for his account of the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi. However, so far as the earlier portion of the book which deals with the Ilbarites is concerned, we find the following details which remain unconfirmed from other sources:

- (1) It was, according to 'Isami, Shihab-u'd-din's *third*, not *second*, conflict with Prithvi Raj in which he defeated his Chauhan adversary.
- (2) Shihab-u'd-din Ghuri is made to participate in the Anhilwara campaign, though Minhaj says that Qutb-u'd-din alone had gone there.
- (3) According to 'Isami, Qutb-u'd-din Aibek had gone to Ghaznin because there were some doubts about his loyalty and fidelity in the mind of Shihab-u'd-din.
- (4) 'Isami refers to a conflict between two '*alims*,—Qazi Sa'd and Qazi 'Imad,—and Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri on the question of mystic songs. No earlier authority refers to it.
- (5) 'Isami refers to an attack of the *Mulahida* on Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish.

- (6) 'Isami's portraiture of Razia's character is damaging and unconfirmed by any earlier evidence.
- (7) According to 'Isami, Razia fought Sultan Mu'izz u'd-din *twice* after her marriage with Altuniah.
- (8) 'Isami says that Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud was the *grandson* and not the *son* of Iltutmish.
- (9) 'Isami gives the story about a bet between the sons of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud and a son of Balban and traces from it a change in the attitude of Balban towards Nasir-u'd-din.
- (10) 'Isami says that Tughril rebelled in the 8th regnal year of Balban but Barani says that the rebellion took place in the 14th year of Balban's reign.

Barani is, in fact, infinitely more interesting than 'Isami. But he can hardly be properly understood if his own individual fads and prejudices are ignored and his terminology is not closely followed. He was a rank reactionary in politics and a die-hard conservative in religion. He scanned and scrutinized every man and movement in the light of his own ideals and standards. Besides, he was fond of character-portrayal through conversations. Taking these conversations literally and basing conclusions upon them is, therefore, dangerous because the possibility of their being mere *ex post facto* deductions cannot be completely ruled out. Barani is out and out a subjective writer but his subjectivism is not, in the least, deceptive. One can easily discern and detect the elements of subjectivism in his narrative. He is sincere in so far as he does not try to assume an air of objectivity and does not introduce his subjective attitudes surreptitiously. To understand his *work*, one should understand *him* first. His terminology is also the result of his subjective attitudes. His reference to the Turks in connection with the rise of the Khaljis has no *racial* connotation; his use of the term Hindu with reference to the regulations of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji has no *communal* implications and his phrases, like *پکی بہ دہ* in connection with Muhammad bin Tughluq's enhancement of taxation in the Doab, are not to be interpreted *mathematically*. These terms are closely linked up with his subjective exposition of particular situations. But for Barani, Balban would not have been known to us so well and as intimately as he is known today. Through animated conversations and lively character-sketches he has succeeded in giving us a full-size pen-portrait of Balban. His account of Kaiqubad's revelries and the atmosphere of drunken revelry prevailing in Delhi during his regime is living and breathing. Barani approached his subject with the feelings of an artist. His aim was not to prepare a directory of events or a

chronicle of incidents but to present some portraits from an angle that appealed most to his aesthetic sense. While recording his impressions he has not been able to adhere to historical accuracy at some places. To some extent this was due to senility and failing health in which he was obliged to compile his work.

Works on Political Theory

The *Adab-u'l-Harb wa'sh-shuja'ah* of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* of Zia-u'd-din Barani are extremely valuable for a study of medieval political thought. Both these books are soaked in the spirit of Persian ideology and throw considerable light on the political and religious trends of the period. But Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's is a synthetic study, with a straightforward point of view; Barani's work is a typical illustration of the contradictions in Muslim thought and institutions. Barani has presented in the boldest relief the incompatibility of the laws of *Shari'at* with the actual requirements of the time. It is interesting to note that the need for fresh interpretation (*ijtihad*) was realized by one who was out and out a *muqallid* in his thought and behaviour. There were, however, certain similarities in the political thought of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir and Zia-u'd-din Barani. Both stood for discriminations on grounds of birth; both discouraged appointment of low-born persons to government offices; both disliked the spread of education amongst the lower sections of society.

Literary Works

Amongst the literary works of the period, Amir Khusrau's historical *masnavi*, *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain*, occupies a pre-eminent position. Its real value does not lie so much in the details that it supplies about the historic meeting of Kaiqubad with his father, Bughra Khan, and the fine artistic sensibility with which the psychological situations have been depicted, but in the fullness with which the social life and cultural atmosphere of the period has been described. If it is correct that no study of men or institutions can be considered complete without an understanding of the spirit of the age, the *Qir'an-u's-Sa'dain* should be given a high place in the historical literature of medieval India. It gives a clear idea of the different aspects of the Urban Revolution initiated by the Turks. With this background in mind, it becomes easier to evaluate the significance of many of the social and economic measures of 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji. Since Khusrau had, even at that early age, seen Indian life from Multan to Lakhnauti, one finds a largeness in his perspective which is not available in any other account. The *Dibacha Ghurra u'l-Kamal* supplies interesting autobiographical details about the poet and throws interesting light on some of the cultural and literary trends of the period.

Sadid-u'd-din Muhammad 'Awfi's *Jawami'-u'l-Hikayat* and *Lubab-u'l-Albab* contain much useful information. The *Jawami'-u'l-Hikayat* is, no doubt, a collection of anecdotes and stories covering almost every period of Muslim history and even pre-Islamic Persia, but some of the stories dealing directly with the period under review are of great significance. It would be unjustifiable to make generalizations on the basis of these stray stories for a story-teller is often not very particular about the historical accuracy of his anecdotes but it helps us in understanding the medieval atmosphere and contains much which is of great historical value.

The *Lubab-u'l-Albab* gives valuable information about some of the most outstanding literary figures of the Ghaznavid and the Ghurid periods. Mirza Muhammad Qazwini has rightly protested against 'Awfi's omission of almost all dates and biographical particulars which must have been, in many cases, within his knowledge. However, some of the extracts from contemporary works which he has given, are of great value since those works are extinct. For instance, 'Awfi quotes the following verses of his grandfather Qazi Sharaf u'd-din Abu Tahir Yahya b. Tahir b. 'Usman about the change in the character of his contemporaries:

پیدا شدن میان مسلمانی اندرون
ترکی و رومیانه و هندی حضالها
با قول بایزید و دم شبای و جنید
پیداشدن ز خلق یزیدی فعالها

(*Lubab* Vol. I, p. 179).

Note also the following verses of Fakhr-u'd-din Khattat Harwai about a Turk *Jandar*:

آن ترک چو یافت منصب جاندارى یک لفظ نسی شکید از دلدارى
گفتم دل من نگه نسی دارى گفت جانداران راچه کار بادلدارى
(*Lubab* Vol. I p. 248).

Such bits of information have a value of their own in illumining many a generally neglected aspect of contemporary life.

'Awfi had travelled widely in search of knowledge through Khurasan, Transoxiana and parts of India, visiting Samarqand, Khwarazm, Merv, Harat, Nishapur, Sistan, Ghazna, Farah, Lahore, Delhi, etc., and making acquaintance with princes, nobles, scholars and saints of the age. A careful

study of his works gives us a very good idea of the literary and cultural climate of the period.

Religious Literature

The contemporary works on *tafsir*, *hadis*, and *fiqh* contain almost nothing which can be considered of any historical value. Even one cannot catch a glimpse of the 'mental' and 'emotional' climate in which these works were compiled. But some vague idea of the drift and direction of the Muslim mind at this time may be gathered from these works. The popularity of *Mashariq* and *Misbah-u'd-Duja* is indicative of the religious interests of the contemporary Mussalmans.

The mystic literature has, however, greater historical value than any other type of non-political literature produced in India during the medieval period. Broadly speaking this literature is of two types—(a) *malfuzat*,—both genuine and fake, and (b) general works on mystic subjects.

Malfuz writing is one of the most important literary inventions of medieval India. Works of similar nature were, no doubt, compiled in other Muslim lands also, but the credit of giving this art a definite shape goes to Amir Hasan Sijzi, the compiler of *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*. The historical value of this type of mystic literature cannot be over-emphasised. Through these records of conversations we can have a glimpse of the medieval society, in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection—the moods and tensions of the common man, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought at its higher and lower levels, the popular customs and manners and above the problems of the people. There is no other type of literature through which we can feel the pulse of the medieval public.

Besides, this literature acts as a corrective to the wrong impressions created by the contemporary political chronicles. Apart from their mystic approach towards various problems of human life, their estimate of men and movements is not coloured by any prejudices. For instance, Nur Turk's estimate in *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and Balban's remarks about Minhaj-u's-Siraj as quoted in *Sarur-u's-Sudur* help us in understanding the significance of some of the most important events of the period. Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's remarks about the religious interests and attitudes of Iltutmish and Balban are revealing and illumine an aspect of these Sultans' lives which has not been so clearly depicted by any contemporary writer. Besides extremely valuable biographical details about leaders of ideas and religion, we get in this literature interesting information about the religion, ideas, institutions superstitions, and attitudes of the period. How the common man lived and

thought? What were his reactions to different situations of medieval life? —If any literature of medieval India give us any idea about these problems, it is certainly the mystic literature of the period. Political chronicles tell us about Tughril in detail but it is only in the *malfuz* literature that we meet his servant, Hamid, and get an opportunity of knowing his attitude towards the governing class. We know about the lavish expenditure of the governing class on marriage ceremonies from many contemporary sources, but it is in the *malfuz* literature that we come to know about the distressing problems of a poor father with several daughters of marriageable age. Details about the economic regulations of Sultan 'Ala-u'd-din Khalji are, of course, given in *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, but it is from the *Khair-u'l-Majalis* that we know that as a result of these measures even a mendicant could afford to get two blankets (*lihaf*) prepared for himself. Stories about the measures of poor relief by the *amirs* of Balban are, no doubt, recorded by Barani but it is in the *malfuzat* literature that one comes across stories of a widow of Delhi supporting a starving neighbour family or a *patwa* offering a helping hand to a starving saint. This information is of infinite value in understanding and appreciating medieval life in all its fullness.

Of the early collections of mystic conversations, the following three have been particularly used in this work:

1. *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad*.
2. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*.
3. *Khair-u'l-Majalis*.

The *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* contains conversations of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya from Sha'ban 3, 707 A.H./1307 A.D. to Sha'ban 20, 722 A.H. But since the Shaikh had reached Delhi during the reign of Sultan Balban and ideologically he belongs more to the 13th than to the 14th century, the book has a value in understanding the thought and tendencies of the period under review.

The way in which this book was compiled has been described by the compiler himself. On Sha'ban 3, 707 A.H./1307 A.D., Amir Hasan Sijzi decided to write, whatever he heard from his master, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya. He went on noting down whatever he heard or saw about his Shaikh till at last on Shawwal 28, 708 A.H./1308 A.D. he disclosed to his Shaikh that he was compiling a *malfuz*. The Shaikh went through his jottings and approved them. As the work proceeded he revised it and filled

up the lacunae (*bayaz*). This work was completed on Sha'ban 20, 722 A.H. in five thin volumes and soon afterwards it became a popular study in the mystic circles and attained the position of a *dastur-u'l-'amal* for the mystics. There is hardly any Indo-Muslim mystic work of the middle ages in which the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* has not been approvingly quoted. It gives us an insight into the life and principles of the Chishti saints besides illuminating many aspects of popular life during the early middle ages.

The *Sarur-u's-Sudur* is a collection of the sayings of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri and his son Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mahmud. It was compiled by a grandson of Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din after the exodus to Deogir demanded by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. Apart from the valuable information it supplies about the life and thought of a Chishti saint in a far-off village of Rajputana during the 13th century, it contains illuminating references to some notable figures of the 13th century—Iltutmish, Minhaj-u's-Siraj, Fakhr Naqila, Husam Darvesh, and others. It tells us a lot about the literary atmosphere and the standard of Muslim scholarship reached in medieval India. The arrangement of the book is, however, arbitrary. There is no chronological order in the narrative. Some dates are given, but after 1327 A.D. we are taken to an earlier date and again to later dates. The earliest reference to the *Sarur-u's-Sudur* is found in the *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar* of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi. The compiler's main source of information was his grandfather, Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti of Ajmir and a notable scholar of his time. He lived up to a ripe old age and came into contact with some of the eminent religious figures of the age.

The *Khair-u'l-Majalis* contains the conversations of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh Dehlavi (ob. 1356 A.D.), compiled by his disciple, Maulana Hamid Qalandar. Problems relating to the authenticity of this work and its historical value have been discussed by the writer of these lines in his Introduction to the edition of *Khair-u'l-Majalis*. Like the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, this *malfuz* also was carefully revised by the Shaikh whose conversations it contains. The compiler says:

از ابتدا مجلس تا انتہی هیچ حرفی نیست کہ ملاحظہ و ملاحظہ خواجہ شدہ

It is an important source of information for the lives and activities of the early Indo-Muslim saints e.g.—Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi, Shaikh Baha-u'd-din Zakariyya and Malik Yar Parran. But for this *malfuz*, many aspects

of mystic life and activity in medieval India would have remained totally obscure. The importance of these accounts may be estimated from the fact that almost all hagiographers of medieval India have drawn their material from this book. Of the political chroniclers of the period, Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif is the first to refer to *Khair-u'l-Majalis*.

The *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* of Amir Khurd is a mine of information for the religious and cultural life of the Sultanate period. The Kirmani family to which Mir Khurd belonged was closely associated with the Chishti saints. Mir Khurd's grandfather, Sayyid Muhammad Mahmud Kirmani, was a devoted disciple of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar. Mir Khurd himself had joined the discipline of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya at a very early age. After the saint's death he kept close personal contact with some of the distinguished disciples of his master. When Muhammad bin Tughluq forced the '*ulama* and the *mashaikh* of Delhi to migrate to the Deccan, Mir Khurd readily complied with the royal order and left for Daulatabad. When the Sultan's Deccan project failed and the administration collapsed he came back to Delhi, frustrated and heart-broken. The thought that he had forsaken the principles of his master in leaving Delhi, pricked his conscience like a thorn. To atone for this 'sin', he sat down to write a history of the Chishti *silsilah*. He was well-equipped for this job. He had received good education in Arabic and Persian and was well-versed in the religious literature of the middle ages. His family had an unbroken tradition of association with the Chishti saints. Over and above all this, he was fortunate in having access to a very large number of notes, jottings and personal memoranda of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya which had fortunately escaped the ravages of time. Thus personal knowledge combined with deep erudition has raised the value of his work which contains the earliest and by far the most reliable account of the Chishti saints. It is a noteworthy fact that where he had no authentic details about any saint, he confined his account to the meagre data available to him and did not try to fill in the gaps by incorporating unauthenticated facts which were floating down the stream of time. Where he had two slightly varying accounts about any incidents, he has mentioned his authorities and has left it to the reader to accept or reject any version (p. 530). Besides, Mir Khurd's personal contacts with distinguished figures of the period, like Amir Khusrau, Amir Hasan, Zia-u'd-din Barani, Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh and others, helped him immensely in obtaining reliable information about the life and activities of the saints of the earlier period. But for *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, a detailed account of the Khanqah-life during the thirteenth century would have been impossible.

Besides the *malfuz* collections referred to above, several other semi-contemporary collections of mystic conversations have been carefully utilised in preparation of this work. Particular reference in this connection may be made to the following works:

1. *Siraj-u'l-Hidayah*, conversations of Sayyid Jalal-u'd-din Bukhari popularly known as Makhdum-i-Jahanian, compiled by Makhdumzada 'Abdullah.
2. *Ma'din-u'l-Ma'ani*, conversations of Shaikh Sharaf-u'd-din Yahya Maneri, compiled by Maulana Zain Badr 'Arabi.
3. *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwal*, conversations of Shaikh Burhan-u'd-din Gharib, compiled by Maulana Hammad.
4. *Jawami'-u'l-Kalim*, conversations of Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, compiled by Sayyid Muhammad Husaini.

Critical examination of these works on the basis of internal evidence—atmosphere, thought-content, references etc.—establishes their authentic character. They reveal the working of the mystic institutions in Sind, Bihar and the Deccan. It may, however, be noted that since these works were compiled when, as a result of the exodus of Muslim population demanded by Muhammad bin Tughluq, the traditions of the saints of the thirteenth century were fast declining, the element of glorification and idealization of the earlier mystics has become a feature of this literature.

Besides the genuine *malfuz* literature discussed above, there are the following fabricated collections of *malfuzat*:

1. *Anis-u's-Arwah*
2. *Dalil-u'l-'Arifin*
3. *Fawa'id-u's-Salikin*
4. *Asrar-u'l-Auliya*
5. *Rahat-u'l-Qulub*

Both internal and external evidence has now established beyond doubt the apocryphal character of this literature. (See Prof. Habib's article in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 15-42; Nizami, *The Life & Times of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar*, Appendix B.) In almost all these works there are horrible chronological blunders which no contemporary, however indifferent to chronology, could possibly commit. Persons, born years after the death

of the saints to whom these conversations are attributed have been introduced in the mystic gatherings and cheap mystic ideas which were, in the words of Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chiragh, 'unworthy of the great Chishti saints', have been uttered through their mouths. Besides, the discussions in these *malfuzat* lack spontaneity of treatment and warmth of human company. In the genuine *malfuz* literature one comes across a huge variety of discussions but in these apocryphal collections, every *majlis* is in the form of a sermon on a topic. It is clear from the *Fawa'id-ul-Fu'ad* and the *Khair-u'l-Majalis* that this literature came into existence very early but in all responsible academic and mystic circles there were protests against this literature. It would be unwarranted to use this literature in preparation of an account of the ideology of the Chishti saints, but it gives us good idea of the popular assimilation and understanding of the contemporary mystic thought. The superstitious atmosphere which pervades all through these conversations presents an interesting aspect of popular life. Very sparing use of this literature has been made and that too in order to study the religious thought at its lower level.

Of the general mystic works of this period, the '*Ishqia* of Qazi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri and the *Mulhamat* and the *Diwan* of Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi deserve special consideration. Otherwise a very important work, the '*Ishqia* has lost much of its reliability on account of the very large number of interpolations that one comes across in it. But most of these interpolations are in the form of verses which seem to have been introduced in the text by some early scribe and then continued in subsequent copies. The thought-content of this *risalah* is, however, indicative of the intellectual eminence and deep erudition of the author. More important than '*Ishqia* is the collection of the poetical compositions of Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din Hansvi. Besides poems on purely mystic subjects, there are verses on many topics of general cultural significance. The attitude of the religious classes towards some popular customs, cultural practices, important religious and political figures of the period, political institutions etc. is not so clearly available in any other contemporary work as in the *Diwan* of Shaikh Jamal-u'd-din. Its value as a source of information for the history of the early thirteenth century has not been properly recognized so far. This is probably the earliest poetical work from the pen of a thirteenth century Muslim mystic of India and clearly records the attitude of the contemporary mystics towards different problems of religion and politics.

The above is a brief survey of the contemporary and semi-contemporary literature on which this study is based. Later works, both political

and non-political, have been used only to the extent that corroborative or confirmatory evidence is available from other sources. In the case of hagiological literature, later works have been used just to trace the growth of legends.

Apart from this literature, archaeological and numismatic evidence has also been carefully considered. A list of works on which this study is based is given in the following pages.

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6	24	frequently	frequently
18	19	will constitute	would constitute
"	21		at the old Cairo. Of them
22	7	of extensive	only 'Ali
23	3	superceded	of an extensive
"	5	ya'qub	superseded
"	32	enhanced cultural	Ya'qub
31	15	do'nt	enhanced the cultural
42	last line, <i>passim</i>		don't
53	4	<i>Saroor-us-Sadur</i>	<i>Surur-u's-Sudur</i>
61	1	look	looked
70	9	three grade	three grades
72	21	non-descript	nondescript
82	3-5	remain widower	remain a widower
84	4	Huge.....were	A hugewas
90	23	of multi-state	of the multi-state system
92	last line	system	on the secular basis
93	12	on secular basis	false
101	19	fake	false
"	30	his	her
103	7	Do'nt	Don't
106	23	in treasury	in the treasury
108	46	Five-time prayers	the five daily prayers
109	fourth para	couple o	couple of
117	f-n- 1, <i>passim</i>	beers	bears
119	22	Wherefrom	Whence
122	5	<i>Jawami'-u'l-Kilam</i>	<i>Jawami'-u'l-Kalim</i>
"	17	on journey	on a journey
"	f.n. 5	eclat	<i>eclat</i>
128	15	deed	dead
139	1	Large number	Large numbers
140	14	trested	treated
158	7	michevious	mischievous
158	f. n. 2	Malik Raj-u'd-din	Malik Taj-u'd-din
160	10	"If 'Thou does'nt send	If Thou sendest not rain
164	13	rains	
186	21	ردى	ندارد
191	f. n. 1	roya lpresence	royal presence
211	f. n. 4	fed up of	tired of
227	1	himself milked it	milked it himself
"	17	It is extinct now	It is no longer extant.
"	20	<i>Siya-u'l-Auliya</i>	<i>Siyar-u'l-Auliya</i>
236	19	black-mail	blackmail
246	5	he	the
302	7	table	table.
306	9	sudry	sundry
334	14	obligatory	Intransitive
337	f. n.	communicable	Transitive
		attendance	attendance
		Dooms Day	Doomsday
		<i>Maji Haji</i>	<i>Majd Haji</i>
		نصر بغداد	نصر بغداد
		desier	desire